FBIS DAILY REPORT

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COMMENTARIES REVIEW WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT

Atmosphere of Contradictions

AU301008 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 30 May 83

["Summit Meeting in the Atmosphere of Profound Intercapitalist Contradictions" — ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 30 /ATA/ -- The summit meeting of the 7 main capitalist countries, the USA, France, Britain, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan in Williamsburg is being held in the atmosphere of profound contradictions among the industrialised capitalist countries, which are aggravated still more by the grave crisis that has gripped the world of capital. The USA is resorting to every means to compel its partners to hold a larger part of the crisis of the U.S. economy on their shoulder. But such a policy of the Reagan administration has met with an ever greater opposition of the West European countries and Japan, which are also in great economic and financial difficulties. As "a barometer" for the atmosphere of Williamsburg meeting served the meeting of the representatives of the industrialized capitalist countries, which was held in Paris some weeks ago [sentence as received]. In fact this preparatory meeting too solved none of the disagreements existing among the major capitalist countries.

The new summit meeting is not expected to have a better luck than the 7 other meetings of this kind, that have been held since 1975 and which have done nothing else but promise for better days and try to conceal the profound intercapitalist contradictions. To this also testify the official admissions that concrete results must not be expected from this meeting and that it will have an "informative" character. Just as the previous meetings of this kind, the countries of the industrialized capitalist "seven" in fact are expected to "coordinate" their future attempts to shift the burden of crisis on the shoulders of the undeveloped countries, which are plunged in great debts and in critical situations because of the neocolonialist exploitation and plunder.

Deployment Declaration

AU311957 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] The summit meeting of the seven most industrialized capitalist countries concluded its proceedings yesterday. Despite the fact that it was officially stated that the meeting would concentrate on these countries' economic problems, the first declaration drafted by its participants dealt with the issue of nuclear arms deployment in West Europe. According to news agencies, this declaration supports the decision to deploy about 600 American medium-range nuclear missiles in West Europe by the end of 1983. The declaration, which the American Secretary of State Shultz read to journalists, emphasized that we will maintain the necessary military forces. A few days ago, Moscow also announced its intentions to increase the number of nuclear missiles in the vassal East European countries.

News agency reports point out that the United States and its major allies remained divided on the issue of economic problems and solutions to the present crisis. REUTER pointed out that the United States was faced with new pressure to change an economic policy that deepens its partners' difficulties. Reagan has declared that he will not change his economic policy. As was expected, the meetings' final declaration covered the disagreements between its participants with convenient phrases without reaching any results in softening the inter-imperialist contradictions.

LUKANOV, GDR'S WEIZ DISCUSS ECONOMIC ISSUES

AU311539 Sofia BTA in English 1438 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA) -- The trade between Bulgaria and the GDR will exceed the one milliard roubles threshold for the first time this year. It is expected of bilateral trade in the eighth five-year period (1981-1985) to mark a 40 per cent increase as compared with the previous five-year period. Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, and Mr Herbert Weiz, deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of the GDR and minister of science and technology of the GDR, expressed here today satisfaction with the successful and dynamic development of the economic relations between Bulgaria and the GDR, with the steadily deepening techno-scientific cooperation.

Mr Andrey Lukanov and Mr Herbert Weiz had talks at an intersession meeting of the Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation between Bulgaria and the GDR, to which they are co-chairman. They discussed a wide range of questions pertaining to bilateral economic cooperation. Particular attention was paid to the contacts in mechanical engineering, electronics and electrical engineering, chemistry and some other priority spheres of bilateral cooperation.

The questions of specialization and industrial joint production, in which both countries have considerable successes, were in the focus of attention.

Bulgaria and the GDR are engaged now in the implementation of 19 bilateral and 45 multilateral agreements on specialization and industrial joint production, on the basis of which are carried out about 30 per cent of bilateral deliveries. Attention was also paid to some problems of the future trade, economic and techno-scientific cooperation.

DAYS OF CSSR ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY OPEN

AU301949 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 30 May 83

["Bulgaria-Czechoslovakia: Promising Economic Cooperation" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 30 (BTA) -- Quite frequently Bulgaro-Czechoslovak commercial, economic, scientific and technological cooperation is being qualified as successful, dynamic and promising. The reasons for this is the fact that mutual trade is steadily on the increase. In the years of the sixth five-year period (1971-1975) bilateral trade amounted to one milliard and 200 million roubles. In the next five-year period it reached two milliard and one hundred million roubles. It is expected that in the current five-year period mutual deliveries will be 15 per cent higher than they were in the seventh five-year period. Specialization and cooperation will constantly deepen as will the contacts in science and technology, which are growing more and more useful.

The deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Government, Mr Ladislav Gerle, and the deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, Mr Grigor Stoichkov, reaffirmed today the satisfactory remarks made in regard to economic ties. Opening here the Days of the Czechoslovak Economy and Technology, which are to last one week, they stressed the wish of the governments of the two countries to keep on enriching their economic contacts.

During the days there will be held discussions and conversations on the priority areas of mutual economic relations, among which are mechanical engineering, the electronic industry, power generation and robotics. Fruitful discussions are expected on these questions.

It is for the fourth time that Days of the Czechoslovak Economy and Technology are being held in Bulgaria and they have always been a success. This is one of the forms contributing to the activization of bilateral trade and to the exploration of unexploited chances, to the establishment of direct contacts between the production organizations of the two states. Specialists are of the opinion that this initiative will help to the expansion of mutual specialization and cooperation, a sphere in which substantial achievements have been attained -- at present Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia are working on the implementation of sixty-five agreements, sixteen of which are bilateral.

TRANSPORTATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH USSR 27 MAY

AU301312 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 May 83 p 6

[Text] On 27 May in Varna Vasil Tsanov, minister of transportation, and Viktor Biryukov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, signed a protocol on the work and decisions of the ninth session of the permanent Bulgarian-USSR transportation working group. Preliminary estimates of the volume of passenger and cargo transportation between Bulgaria and the USSR for 1986-1990, and a prognosis for 1991-1995 were discussed.

ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATIONS TO JORDAN'S HUSAYN

AU281805 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 May 83 p 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has sent a telegram of congratulations to King Husayn on the occasion of the national holiday of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The telegram once more expresses the solidarity of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the just cause of the Arab peoples who are waging a struggle against the insolent Israeli aggression, in order to insure the right of the Middle Eastern countries to a peaceful and independent existence and development on the basis of a just, lasting, and comprehensive settlement of the conflict in that area.

STANISHEV RECEIVES PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST

AU271920 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 27 May 83

[Text] Sofia, May 27 (BTA) -- Mr Carlos Costa, member of the Political Committee and of the Secretariat of the CC of the Communist Party of Portugal, was on a visit here, May 23 through 27, at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. At the meeting with Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, information and views were exchanged on topical matters of the two parties' activity and the situation in the world.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev and Mr Carlos Costa confirmed the two parties' striving to continue to develop and deepen the relations of fraternal friendship, cooperation and solidarity resting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

NUCLEAR POWER COOPERATION TALKS HELD WITH USSR

Talks Open in Prague

LD262148 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 26 May 83

[Text] A meeting between Federal Vice Premier Ladislav Gerle and Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, CSSR and USSR government plenipotentiaries for cooperation in the development of the Czechoslovak nuclear power industry up to the year 1990, opened at Hrzansky Palace, in Prague, today. On the agenda are specific questions of cooperation in the construction of nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia and in the manufacture of equipment for these plants. Experts are concerning themselves in particular with the state of preparations for putting the first block of the V-2 nuclear power plant in Jaslovske Bohunice into operation and with progress in the construction of the nuclear power plant at Dukovany. Issues concerning cooperation in designing and building the nuclear power plant at Mochovce are also a subject of the discussions between the plenipotentiaries of both governments.

Antonov Inspects Computers

LD280918 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 27 May 83

[Text] Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, today visited the Industrial Automation Works in Cakovice. Accompanied by Federal Minister of Electrotechnical Industry Milan Kubat, he acquainted himself with the production of computers and control and automation systems, some of which are designed for nuclear power stations constructed in the CEMA countries. He was particularly interested in the production of computers and the equipment of automation technology and in their programming. Comrade Aleksey Antonov is in Prague attending the fifth session of CSSR and USSR plenipotentiaries for cooperation in the development of the Czechoslovak nuclear power industry up to 1990.

Husak Receives Antonov

LD280924 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 27 May 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received in Prague Castle today Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Soviet guest is in Prague for the fifth session of the government plenipotentiaries for the implementation of the Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation program in the development of nuclear energy. The two representatives highly praised the results of existing mutual cooperation and voiced their conviction that the fifth session of government plenipotentiaries will constitute another important step in the development and intensification of cooperation in this economic area so important for Czechoslovakia.

Talks End

LD280934 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 27 May 83

[Text] The fifth session of the USSR and CSSR Government plenipotentiaries for cooperation in the development of the Czechoslovak nuclear energy industry up to 1990 ended today in Prague.

The representatives of the two countries, Federal Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle and Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Aleksey Antonov, signed a document at the end of the session summarizing the course and conclusions of the talks. The document praises the results achieved in cooperation in the construction of nuclear power stations in Czechoslovakia, and in the production of equipment for nuclear power stations.

The representatives also assessed the state of preparations for commissioning the first block of the V-2 nuclear power station at Jaslovske Bohunice and the progress of construction at the nuclear power station at Dukovany. Aleksandr Botvin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, also participated in the session of plenipotentiaries of the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

COLOTKA RECEIVES USSR COOPERATIVES DELEGATION

LD301356 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] Peter Colotka, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and Slovak premier, received in Bratislava today a delegation of the Soviet Tsentrosoyuz organization (Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives) headed by Mikhail Trunov, its chairman. The delegation has attended the 9th Congress of the Central Council of Cooperatives. In a friendly conversation the guests talked about the activity of consumers' cooperatives in the Soviet Union. The intensification of cooperation between Tsentrosoyuz and the Slovak Union of Consumers' cooperatives and other unions of cooperatives of the CEMA member countries, which are fulfilling joint tasks set in the target program for cooperation up to 1990, were also the subject of the discussion.

SOVIET AGRICULTURE DELEGATION ARRIVES 30 MAY

LD301329 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] A three-member delegation of the USSR All-Union Council of Collective Farms, headed by Anatoliy Chubarov, USSR deputy agriculture minister, arrived in Prague today. During the visit which will last several days, the delegation will acquaint itself with Czechoslovakia's socialist agricultural sector and the work of the Czechoslovak Union of Cooperative Farmers, at whose invitation the visit is being made. The delegation was received by Agriculture and Food Minister Josef Nagr, and Cooperative Farmers Union Central Committee Chairman Pavol Jonas.

CHNOUPEK MEETS WITH MALAGASY COUNTERPART

LD281931 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1930 GMT 27 May 83

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, who has been on an official friendly visit to Madagascar since yesterday, had talks today with Malagasy Foreign Minister Christian Remi Richard in Antananarivo. They assessed some aspects of our bilateral relations and exchanged opinions on key issues at international politics. They came out in favor of further developing a wide political dialogue, of expanding economic relations, and making use of all opportunities related to the exchange of cultural values. Both ministers agreed that the most important task of the day is that of averting a nuclear war.

UNEMPLOYMENT, SECURITY UNSOLVED AT WILLIAMSBURG

DW0106933 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 31 May 83

[Detlev Schmidt commentary]

[Text] The ninth so-called economic summit of the seven leading capitalist industrial states in Williamsburg, State of Virginia, was concluded yesterday. At this summit the United States, France, Canada, Japan, the FRG, Great Britain, and Italy were represented by their presidents and/or heads of government. What did this high-level meeting produce for the people in Western countries? Listen to some remarks by Detlev Schmidt:

Remembering the negative experiences with such meetings all the way down the line the British GUARDIAN gave a very appropriate assessment on the eve of the Williamsburg spectacle. The paper wrote: All summit meetings are successes, because that's what they are for. But the Williamsburg conference possibly will go down in the gloomy annals of these meetings as the one which imprinted the seal of continued unemployment for the rest of this century.

And that's exactly what happened. The final statement released last night is full of the same phrases of intent and wishful thinking, such as were typical already of the eight preceding political shows. Does it mean that everything proceeded as before? Not quite.

This meeting in imperialism's principal country had been prepared with a gigantic propaganda effort for weeks and even months, displaying pronounced optimism about economic vitalization, probably for the sake of arousing a feeling of confidence and the hope that one would at long last get a grip on developments at Williamsburg and ring in a change for the better.

Such hopes were totally disappointed. The political leaders of the great Western industrial states did not even find the basic ingredients of a medicine for counteracting the dramatically increasing mass unemployment. The balance sheet is worse than just depressing. At the first economic summit at Rambouillet Castle, near Paris, in 1975, the communique said: It is our most urgent task to ensure the recuperation of our national economies and to reduce unemployment. At that time the unemployment figure in the OECD states was 15 million. Today, 8 years later, official statistics say that as many as 34 million people desperately are looking for a job and thus for a social basis for their families. They had linked concrete expectations to the summit of their heads of state and government.

But what was said in Williamsburg with regard to this human tragedy? Practically nothing. None of the 10 points of the final statement is devoted to unemployment. To this extent, the ninth summit was another admission of impotence and helplessness in coping with the social ailments that ultimately are rooted in the profit-oriented social system. Profit compulsion and laws of competition also prevented a solution to acute interimperialist antagonisms of interests and conflicts. There were vehement differences of opinion over the disorder in the entire capitalist currency and finance relations emanating from the U.S. budget deficit.

The astronomic indebtedness of the Reagan administration to the private capital markets, which is attributable to armaments, is the cause of murderously high interest rates, which make it harder to carry out the investments necessary in other countries and which additionally drive up unemployment.

Yet, the joint criticism of the most profoundly egoistic economic policy of Washington again was talked into the wind as far as the Reagan team was concerned. In Williamsburg the United States ignored the interests of the allies and indicated that for the time being it does not intend to make any effort toward reducing its state of indebtedness.

In the case of other controversial problems, the noncommittal, vague formulations of the final statement cannot gloss over the fact that the assembled heads of government had failed to come to terms on a common platform. To gloss over the economic policy failure and to demonstrate ostensible harmony, a so-called joint statement on security issues was adopted which had been mapped out by the American side.

This paper reaffirms the well-known position that the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe will commence if and when no agreement meeting the U.S. concepts is reached in Geneva. This statement reportedly was adopted against the strong objections and reservations of participating states after intense arguments.

All told, what did Williamsburg produce for the people of the participating countries? It produced two interlocking things: an intensification of physical insecurity by reaffirmation of the arms-buildup course, and an intensification of social insecurity by the immense economic burdens the individual has to bear as a result.

U.S. CONGRESSMAN'S CRITICISM OF USSR NOTED

LD010209 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 31 May 83

[Excerpts] Budapest, May 31 (MTI) -- On Wednesday, the 5th Inter-Parliamentary Conference on European Cooperation and Security continued in Budapest with a general debate. The some 200 parliamentary deputies of 28 countries discussed ways for parliaments to promote European peace and security and develop cooperation.

Contributors to the general debate agreed on the point that the legislative bodies play a particularly important part in promoting the settlement of tense international problems. Although opinions differed on the causes of deterioration in the world situation, the participants agreed that the Budapest meeting, just like all previous IPU conferences, is expected to contribute to the improvement of the European climate, to halting the arms race and to disarmament.

The speakers discussed in detail the implementation of the basic principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid conference. On several issues, including the question of human rights, contradictory views were voiced. Several representatives from NATO countries expressed the well-known NATO stance on the issue. However, there was a consensus on the point that the provisions of the Final Act must be consistently implemented, and an appropriate, mutually acceptable and balanced agreement reached in Madrid. Contradictory views also clashed in the debate over questions of armament and Euromissiles, but the common desire of putting an end to the arms race, which poses a grave threat to the peoples of Europe, filtered through.

American Congress Representative Elliott Levitas voiced the conviction that an eventual European war cannot be limited to the continent. The concept that either side could win a nuclear war, he said, is erroneous. It is without doubt that human civilization would stand to lose, he said, as it would be destroyed. Levitas stressed that in order to avoid destruction, it is indispensable to mutual [words indistinct] reduce both Soviet and American armament, and a common platform has to be found. Otherwise he blamed the Soviet Union for the frustration of talks so far and continuation of the arms race.

He finally gave an overall picture of violation of human rights in the Soviet Union and Poland over the past three years, also mentioning the Soviet Union's role in Afghanistan. He topped his accusations with the statement that the alleged violations are preventing the Madrid conference from progressing towards successful conclusion. He called the draft closing document of the neutral and non-aligned countries a good basis for ending the Madrid conference but said that it could be improved as in his opinion it does not correspond to reality.

ARMY TO HOLD EXERCISES 'IN THE COMING DAYS'

LD311357 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] The Hungarian People's Army is to hold tactical exercises in the coming days. According to the annual training plan, in addition to designated staff and troops, reserve servicemen will also be involved in the exercises. Thus, about 14,000 will take part in Hungary.

MATERIALS ON 12TH PZPR CC POLITBURO PLENUM

Czyrek Reads Politburo Report

LD311924 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1515 GMT 31 May 83

[Report of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo on Key Problems of the Sociopolitical Situation and the Directions of Party Activity, read at the 12th PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw 31 May by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee -- recorded]

[Text] Comrades, soon it will be 2 years since the party's ninth extraordinary congress. It has been a period of particularly hard experiences, the hardest since the birth of People's Poland. We have lived through the most difficult phase of counterrevolutionary threat to the foundations of the state and to our national existence. By our sovereign decision, on our own efforts, we prevented the danger of dismantling the socialist state, and the collapse of the structures of our country's political and economic life. The calculations and plans of the opponents, and the imperialist circles in the West which support them, were frustrated. The most important tasks of the phase of salvation have been carried out. This made it possible to suspend martial law at the end of last year.

While consistently implementing the line of socialist renewal, we have entered the stage of national rebirth. The arduous process of overcoming the crisis is in progress. We have outlined the prospect of the next stage -- the stage of development and further progress in the socialist construction of Poland. We have not achieved the desired results in all areas; however, progress and evidence of improvement can be seen everywhere.

The accountability and programmatic campaign, which ended in February, carried out an honest review of the party's strength and contributed to further enlivening its activeness, to progress on the road of consolidating the ideological and organizational unity of party ranks around the line of the ninth congress. The party, closely cooperating with the allied parties, has regained the initiative in the country's sociopolitical life. It is developing the process of winning confidence and support in society. The conditions of the state's effective functioning have been restored. The social peace which is being rebuilt is now only sporadically disturbed by disturbances of a limited and decreasing range.

Regression in the economy has been halted. The process of increasing production and restoring economic balance, which has already started, finds its confirmation in the results of the second half of last year and of this year. The foundations for accord are being laid -- foundations for a broad coalition and constructive social force. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is growing in strength. The trade union movement is entering a new phase; it will be a movement free from bureaucratic burdens and from anarchistic and syndicalist trends. And although it is still difficult, although the working class and the public have to cope with many difficulties, although moods of disappointment, lack of trust, passivity are still discernible in many circles and many issues are still waiting to be resolved, the balance sheet of last year makes it possible for us to state with full certainty that the line of the ninth congress, the line of struggle and accord, has been tested in practice and is being resolutely implemented. There is no dilemma for us about whether there is too little or too much struggle or accord.

Our direction is clear; there should be more of both struggle and accord: struggle against that which is dragging us backwards, struggle against those who are disturbing social peace, who are still trying to stir up feelings and to act against socialist Poland; accord with all those who share our concern for our home, with those who are undertaking the joint work of shaping our today and the prosperous tomorrow of the PPR.

Comrades, what is the situation today with regard to the struggle with the enemy of socialism? We shall defend socialism in the same way we defend Poland's independence, we said at the ninth congress. We have defended socialism. We shall never again allow the country to be pushed into the whirl of anarchy and disintegration. Internal and external enemies of socialism, regardless of the label they are acting under, will not gain influence over the fate of Poland. However, the struggle continues. The enemy, although weakened, forced into a defensive position, and more and more isolated, is nevertheless not giving in. Neither the problem of time, which is necessary for full normalization, nor the problem of the social costs of this process have been resolved. It is in the interest of the enemies of socialist Poland to make that time the longest possible and to make the costs the highest possible. They act according to the rule: the worse it is, the better it is. Such is the order of the reactionary forces of the West. The enemy at home is trying to fulfill it exactly.

(?Adapting) their tactics to the new situation, the enemies of Poland are striving to achieve the permanent entrenchment of antisocialist, counterrevolutionary opposition in the political life of the country. The concept of pluralism is aimed toward this goal, which in fact means aiming at the so-called free play of political forces.

Our party is in favor of dialogue and partner-like cooperation among all the patriotic social forces on the basis of the constitutional principles of the political system. In the history of People's Poland the achievement of our party -- beginning from the political thought of its precursor, the Polish Workers' Party -- was and is the concept of unity and accord regarding matters most vital for the nation and the people's state.

Forces hostile to the interests of socialist Poland have no place within this concept. There can be no agreement with them. This question must be perfectly clear.

At the beginning of May, amid deep shifts in the social moods toward normalization, work, and social calm, the opponent made further attempts to keep himself on the surface. Despite large-scale preparations supported by an intensified offensive by Western centers of psychological war, these actions did not bring the intended results, although they provided nourishment for the anti-Polish propaganda in the West.

The Labor Day celebrations passed with dignity. The climate and course of the celebrations of 3 May were favorable. The overwhelming majority of people, particularly the working class, rejected slogans of a boycott and the call to counterdemonstrations. The Polish countryside remained beyond the range of these actions. The majority of the community rejected slogans of political hostility against the socialist state and the calls for riots and street disturbances.

Recent events have once again and with full clarity confirmed the close connection and synchronization of actions between the antisocialist groupings in the country with the centers of anticommunist subversion in the West. These events confirmed that the struggle going on in Poland and around Poland is part of the global struggle.

This defines the measure of our historical responsibility. We live in a period of a dangerous exacerbation of the international situation. The driving force behind this dangerous course is the policy of American imperialism which is striving toward a change in the international balance of power and toward halting progressive historical processes, above all, through the quantitative and qualitative arms race.

The course of the Reagan administration for transforming our continent into a zone of tension and stepped-up arming with nuclear missiles, the policy of confrontation, economic restrictions and propaganda aggression, strikes directly at Poland's security, at the most vital interests of our state and nation.

These dangers have been intensified by the activation of reactionary forces in a number of European NATO countries. One of the manifestations of this evolution is the consolidation of right-wing, nationalist and revanchist trends in the FRG. The aim is to undermine the tested structures of European peace based on the agreements of the great powers from Yalta to Potsdam -- that is, to undermine the existing balance of forces and post-war territorial and political realities in Europe. We know only too well from history that the programming of such goals inescapably led to wars unless a massive barrier was put in their way. Anyone who ignores or minimizes the dangers resulting from this serves un-Polish interests.

The party is aware of these dangers. It is our historical task to organize the current generation of Poles so that they are able to cope with this challenge. This is not the first time in history that the West tried to pull the chestnuts out of the fire with Polish hands. Today more than ever we need a sense of political realism and patriotic responsibility. We have prevented Poland from becoming a hotbed of unrest in Europe. We must not allow any weakening of Poland's peaceful function in European policy.

We base our sovereign state existence and the security of the nation on the firm foundation of alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries. We have in common an identity of ideals and objectives and the historic task of forming a new social system. The qualitatively new system of international relations that has been shaped between us is based on mutual understanding and trust, on the class and internationalist principles of solidarity and mutual assistance.

The essence of these relations has been yet again fully confirmed in the support and assistance granted to us, above all, by the Soviet Union during the most difficult times. Together with the Soviet Union and with the countries of the socialist community, we believe that the most urgent issue today is preventing a new phase of the arms race, thwarting the danger of a major nuclear conflict and saving peace.

A realistic road in this direction has been mapped out by the important Soviet initiatives and proposals and by the stance of the Warsaw Pact countries adopted at the January conference of the Consultative Political Committee in Prague. Of special importance is the 27 May statement of the USSR Government. Our party fully supports these proposals. In line with the Prague declaration our party works for the consolidation of the unity, might, and defenses of the countries of the socialist community and for cooperation in the struggle against the danger of destroying the idea of peaceful coexistence. Poland was, is, and will remain in the mainstream of the forces of socialism, peace, and progress in the world. We will continue to develop the bonds of class and internationalist cooperation with the fraternal parties in the international communist and workers movement.

At the Berlin meeting to mark the anniversary of Karl Marx, we declared ourselves in favor of convening a world conference of communist and workers parties in defense of peace.

Comrades, in order to define the tasks which face the party today, it is necessary to analyze the attitudes and opinions of individual social forces. The most important processes are those taking place within the main social force: the working class. Positive changes can be seen in the mood, outlook, and attitude of the majority. In the sharp struggle waged in the past, as the real intentions and objectives of the enemies of socialism were revealed, their slogans found less and less support in the working class.

The situation still varies in the regions, in individual branches, and in enterprises, but workers generally vote for social peace, for undisturbed work, for recovery of the economy, and for socialist renewal of our life. It was the attitude of the working class that decided, to considerable extent, the positive turn in the country's socio-political life and in the economy. Wherever the proper conditions exist, particularly material conditions, and wherever there is a proper atmosphere, productivity is growing. Interest in the trade unions, in workers self-management, and in the problems of economic reform is increasing. This transformation in the ranks of the working class was reflected by the course of, and wide response to, the national conference of workers. It exerted considerable favorable influence on forming the workers' sense of social responsiblity. The line of the ninth congress required all branches and party organizations to exercise daily care for the working and living conditions of workers, for consolidation of their influence on the processes of government and management, the climate and form of social life. There is no more important issue for the party than its links with the working people and the working class, gaining its trust and support. The working class is the class most interested in the creation and consolidation of the socialist system. The ideology and program of building socialism reflect the objective interests of the working class.

The party sees the fundamental meaning of its activity in implementing the workers' interests, meeting half-way their aspirations for social justice and dignity of work in the struggle against social evil; the party sees the nature of its leading role in shaping socialist social conditions.

One must, however, remember that today's image of the working class is the result of complex processes accompanying socialist transformations in our country. It is, above all, a young class, both in the demographic and in the social sense. Its backbone was formed after the war as a result of the country's rapid industrialization and the mass emigration of rural youth to the towns and the new industrial centers. The consciousness of the first and second generations of workers in People's Poland was influenced by progress in socialist construction, by the strengthening of new social relations, by the advancement of the entire class and its various circles, as well as by negative manifestations: the conflicts and mistakes which accompany the maturing of the new system of government.

The crisis shock made many sections of the working class susceptible to hostile agitation, to various types of demagogy, often using apparently correct slogans calculated to take advantage of the lack of class experiences of the young workers. In his work entitled "The Most Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Authorities" Vladimir Lenin wrote: When a new class comes forward as the commander and leader of society in the arena of history, it never happens without a period of unusually strong rolling movements, of strong shocks, struggle and storms on the one hand, or on the other hand without a period of uncertain steps, experiments, hesitations, and zig-zags with regard to the choice of new methods of action, suitable to the new, objective situation.

History has fully confirmed the correctness of this Leninist analysis. The party's obligation is to carry on a constant dialogue with the work force on all, even the most difficult, subjects; to present in a down-to-earch way the premises of our policy; to explain the complex mechanisms of political life and of the economy and at the same time to reveal the true aims of the class enemy, and unmask the hypocrisy of demagogic slogans. On the one hand it is the business of the workers' party to express the interests of its class, to listen to its voices and opinions, and on the other hand to shape these views and opinions in the spirit of socialism. This is the essence of the Leninist thesis on the links of the party with its class.

The situation among the second social force -- the Polish peasants -- is also favorable. There has been approval of the resolutions of the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee that specify the content and tasks of the worker-peasant alliance in the present stage. The strengthening of allied cooperation between the party and the ZSL and the increased mutual trust is seen in the joint conferences and meetings throughout the country. There are also difficult problems in the countryside. There are processes of socioeconomic differentiation. The opponents of socialism are active there, too, but the decisive majority of the working countryside does not listen to antistate slogans. The striving for law and order and calm is reflected in the production activity of the farmers, in the expansion of economic links between town and countryside.

We shall strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, we shall ensure that the tasks set by the 11th plenum are implemented. The program for the development of the foodstuffs industry till 1990, currently being debated by the Sejm, makes these tasks more concrete. We count on the fact that all those who take part in the implementation of this program will spare no effort in their work. This goes, in equal measure, for those employed in individual sectors of agriculture, in industry, and in other branches of the economy.

The party is paying great attention to the situation among the intelligentsia. Within this community we can see a polarization of views and attitudes. Despite the clearly tangible positive processes, the situation within this community continues to remain complex. The manner in which attitudes are formed within the community of technical intelligentsia is of great significance. Together with economic experts, scientists, and those engaged directly in production, the technical intelligentsia has an important role to play in overcoming the crisis and difficulties in which our country has found itself. Its participation and activeness in the introduction of the economic reform and in solving the problems connected with it in the organization of production processes determines, together with other factors, the chances our economy is to have, scientific and technological progress, the process of counteracting Poland's degradation in the international division of labor.

The party hopes that these communities will display a patriotic and professional spirit of involvement in all this. The party will lend them its support in their efforts for the good of the country.

One can also observe favorable phenomena in other intelligentsia circles. The atmosphere and configuration of forces are changing; however, this process is rather slow.

Within these communities, determined and noisy little groupings of the so-called internal opposition and even, clearly, bridgeheads of the underground are still present. These remain under the attentive care of various Western anticommunist centers. Some pay for their independence from the socialist state by abject manifestations of servility in a game that is being played by aliens, for alien interests.

There are still quite a few people within the intelligentsia communities who yield to the pressure of the opponents of socialism. This causes a kind of split personality. This is especially the case when misconceived group solidarity takes precedence over thinking as citizens should.

Patriotic communities within the intelligentsia have a great responsibility to bear. In tackling the complex problems of Polish reality the party counts on the understanding and cooperation of all enlightened people in working for the good of the nation and of the socialist Polish state.

With patience and persistence we shall endeavor to win over those who have lost their way in the dramatic events of the past few years. We do not wish to multiply the ranks of our opponents; however, we shall not lack resolve and persistence in combating them.

The party has not lost its confidence in the intelligentsia, in those who create the national culture and science. Facts confirm our position. It was at the initiative of the party, after the introduction of the martial law, that the process of resolving numerous, important problems pertaining to intelligentsia communities was set in motion. One can mention in this context the resolution, thanks to which, the Teachers' Charter was passed; one can mention the Higher Education Act, the creation of the National Council of Culture.

Unfortunately, not everyone has understood or appraised this properly. There are at times attempts to make use of the new and democratizing legal regulations in contradiction to their intent. This does not facilitate the process of improving the situation within the community, of solving its real problems. It has to be emphasized that the future, durability, and significance of the accords depend, above all, on the attitude of the communities concerned. This also pertains to certain art associations which are being made use of to carry out activities that exceed the framework of their statutes and that run counter to the interests of the state.

We do not expect anyone to give us hollow declarations, nor do we expect anyone to put himself completely at our disposal in a servile manner. That is not the point. We want people who are upright, independent, distinguished by creative criticism, ready to support us with what they have reflected upon, with their knowledge and experience, to act together with us in putting our own house in order, in restoring its position in the world, as responsible partners deserving trust and respect. We extend our hand to everyone, repeating yet again: It is of no consequence where they hail from; what is important is where they want to go.

A fierce struggle is going on today in all intelligentsia communities. The party should participate in the dialogue in order to tip the scale with the forcefulness of its arguments, of its realism, and of its sincere approach to all problems, even the most complicated ones. Many of our comrades have been put to this stern test. They have taken upon themselves the burden of polemics and conflicts; they are facing indiscriminate attacks. Likewise, those people who do not belong to the party and who, despite various attacks, spare no effort in their activities within the PRON, the National Council of Culture, in various areas of professional and civic activity, deserve our highest respect.

It is the duty of the intelligentsia, by far the largest proportion of which received its education in the schools and higher educational establishments of People's Poland and which originates from working class and peasant families, to serve the country. The country is in need. Standing to the side harms it, objectively speaking. We count on the fact that this truth will be fully understood by the entire patriotic Polish intelligentsia.

Comrades, issues connected with the upbringing of the young generation are in the focus of the party's attention. The ruination perpetrated in the consciousness of the young generation is exceptionally widespread.

Elementary principles of pedagogy were breached when students were cynically dragged into political infighting, this exploited youth's natural criticism and lack of experience. The devastation caused is so deep that it will take much time, wisdom, and patience to overcome it. Much principled and ideological consistency is also needed.

Some progress is evident. Undoubtedly, the new program of socialist education is contributing to this. Teams of teachers are becoming active, although in many of the teams political differences still exist -- of course, on a much smaller scale than in 1981. A part of the teaching cadre avoids the upbringing work concentrating allegedly on teaching alone as a matter of fact, it is a game of pretenses because it is impossible to separate teaching and upbringing.

Today we are reiterating what we have already said many times: The didactic and educational objectives in every state stem from the basis of its political system, from national traditions, and from adopted curricula. There will be no deviations from these rules in Poland either. The programmatic task of the teaching institutions, schools and higher education establishments in particular is -- and will be -- to bring up youth in the spirit of the ideals of socialism, respect for human work, mutual respect and humanity in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. This is not an easy task today.

At the ninth PZPR plenum we confirmed that we understand the shock which resulted from the collapse of many unrealistic programs over the past decade, and following that, of unfulfilled expectations. We are aware of the piling up of the painful effects of the crisis affecting young people. We realize the vast damage inflicted on the younger generation through destructive antisocialist propaganda. The thesis about the lost generation in essentially false and cynical. Such views are being promoted by those who exploit the natural emotional vulnerability of youth and who want to lead young people to hopeless outbursts and to unhappiness.

It is pointless to be angry with history. Misery assesses generations not by the reasons for their dilemmas but according to how they solve these dilemmas. Past generations have been assessed by history on the basis of their attitude regarding the tasks of national and social liberation, regarding the rebuilding of the country, and regarding revolutionary social and economic changes. Past generations rebuilt the country from ruins through hard work and sacrifices. They created a material base for socialism in Poland. These are great and lasting achievements upon which the young generation can base their own creative contributions to socialist renewal, to overcoming the crisis, and to Poland's return to a permanent path of successful development.

This generation will assume responsibility for the future of socialist Poland. As we stated at the ninth PZPR plenum today's young people are a generation of historical opportunity. This is a difficult opportunity, because it calls for increased effort, knowledge, and great perseverance. It calls for the utilization of the natural predispositions of the young, for their sensibility and striving for changes and improvements, and for their creative ambitions.

We do not lack patience. There is still an open road for the waver and lost young people who were misled by the antisocialist slogans. It is not against them but for their own good that the struggle is being waged against the opponent.

The aim of the struggle is to prevent destruction of the life of those who due to a lack of experience and negligence in their upbringing were misled by the enemies of socialism. This is why the party states with satisfaction that -- although slowly -- the barriers of mistrust, prejudice, and hopelessness are being surmounted. We see increasing numbers of young people among PRON activists, the trade unions, self-management enterprises, and social organizations. This chance for active work, for the attainment of social and vocational positions, should be fully exploited by the young people.

The resolutions of the ninth PZPR plenum defined the tasks for party work among the young. So far, however, this work has not been aggressive enough. Not all party echelons and organizations have turned toward the young.

The same is true of all the echelons of the upbringing front and social life. This must be changed. Party members and activists should live and breathe youth issues. They should show concern for young people's living and working conditions. The party should create conditions for the advancement of youth and for equal opportunity for the worker-peasant youth. This is the direction that the organizing of preparatory courses for higher schools is aimed.

Youthful criticism, ardor, and even aggressiveness means potential energy. The point is to transform these into constructive and creative activity. No one can do this better than young social activists and leaders of youth organizations. We have noted increased activity in the socialist youth unions -- that is, the Polish Socialist Youth Unions, The Rural Youth Union, The Polish Scouting Union, and the Polish Students Association.

The crystalization of their activity is a favorable sign, as is the setting in order of their organizational state, meeting the various problems and aspirations of the young generation. There are still many weaknesses and shortcomings. Youth organizations do not do enough to find an answer to the question: What can we do for ourselves? There is still a tendency to concentrate activity in branches which have insufficient numbers of young members. The resolutions of the ninth plenum have combined into one complex set of tasks specifying what has to be done for youth, and what they must do for themselves. The correct government program in this respect has been approved. The struggle for its implementation should mainly be undertaken by young people. The setting up of the Committee for Youth Affairs and the Ministry for Youth Affairs, and its voivodship equivalents, is of fundamental importance. Work is in progress on a bill on youth. We should constantly return to the resolutions of the ninth plenum and confirm by deeds that the party is, will be, the main ally and support of young people in their ambitions and aspirations connected with their own future, and with socialist development of Poland.

Comrades, at the ninth congress the party entered the road of political and legal solutions which will make it possible to reveal and solve the antagonistic controversies of social life and prevent the buildup of tension which is often used by enemies against the socialist system. We favor a broad platform for constructive discussion around the most vital national and state issues. The strategy of agreement is implementation of the Leninist principle of shaping a broad alliance of the working class with the peasants, the intelligentsia, and other strata levels, under the leadership of the party. The foundations of the policy of accord are consolidation of the role and securing priority status for the interests of the working class and development of the worker-peasant alliance in its present shape and form.

Implementation of the leading role of the PZPR in the political alliance with the ZSL and the SD corresponds to these tasks. In the political system of the Polish Peoples Republic there is also a permanent place for the associations of lay Catholics. We are expanding and we shall expand the place in political and social life for the activity and advance of nonparty citizens.

The PRON is the broadest platform for implementing the ideas of accord. At the recent first congress, it defined its programmatic arguments and established the directions and methods of action. In terms of the conditions in which this movement is being born and crystalized, it has already achieved much. In relation to the area that it should cover with its range and activity, this is but the initial stage.

PRON is not, and cannot be, treated as a temporary solution for the period of the crisis, as a tactical maneuver for gaining social support. This movement is growing from the authentic grass-roots initiative of citizens, from a patriotic impulse to support national salvation and rebirth. It is a lasting platform for dialogue and accord, wide open for all those who -- respecting different motivations and world outlooks -- uphold the position of the constitutional principles of our socialist state, and the Polish raison d'etat.

The party's stance in this respect is unequivocal. We gave expression to it in the 20 July 1982 declaration which was signed jointly with the allied political parties and the Catholic associations. We confirm it in the practical activity of thousands of members of the PZPR in the growing movement. As a party we have fundamental obligations toward the movement. They were defined at the PRON Congress by the first secretary of the Central Committee. I quote: The party is the spokesman of the interests of the main social force, the working class; it expresses and implements most fully the ideological and constitutional arguments of socialism.

This defines the party's specific political and moral responsibility for the successful development of the movement, for its significance in the social life of the country.

The role of the party, of party members in PRON, will be decided by their ability to convincingly present our arguments, by their courageous defence, by the richness of their arguments, by the aptness of initiatives and proposals introduced into the PRON movement, and by their activeness in implementing its tasks.

Such an attitude will signify the fulfillment of our party's obligation in this patriotic movement of great tasks and justified hopes.

Comrades, in the socialist renewal of the structures of our sociopolitical life, an extremely important role is played by the rebirth of the trade union movement. The law enacted in October 1982 was based on what was correct in the workers' criticism of the pre-August trade union movement and on what resulted from the situation in the post-August period.

The law created the possibilities to overcome the break-up of the union movement, guaranteeing full rights of participation and action in independent self-governing trade unions for all working people, irrespective of their previous trade union affiliation. This was decisively supported at the 10th plenum by our Central Committee which stressed, at the same time, the significance of the unions' cooperation with the party in defending the rights and interests of the working people and in implementing the goals and principles of the socialist political order.

The party and the trade unions are linked by common class interests and by the equally understood principle of social justice. From this arises the duty of participation by party members in the union movement, of concern for its socialist face. There also arises the obligation to strengthen and support the union organizations in their role of spokesmen for the rights and professional interests of all vocationally employed people, and also as important links in the self-managing enterprise, as instruments of social control exerting an influence on the formation of an honest attitude to work professional ethics and the observance of the principles of social coexistence.

Life has shown that boycott of the new trade unions, organized by the opponents of socialism, has not been successful. The rebirth of the class trade union movement is a fact. Despite the continued fears and doubts among working people the movement affiliates the 3 million members today. Every day brings new members. Further organizational forms of the movement will develop. One thing, however, is certain: There will be no return to a division of the working class into mutually opposed sociopolitical forces fighting each other. Attempts, contrary to this assumption, at putting forward concepts or proposals of diverse authorship are a speculation, which cannot be treated seriously.

This kind of experiment has been definitively closed. With the active participation of the trade union aktiv a new mechanism is being formed so that the working people can be consulted and express views on draft decisions prepared by the state authorities and the organs of the economic administration.

With the development of the unions, and in particular the construction of their supraenterprise structures, the system of consultation will become more efficient and effective. The Social Labor Inspectorate Act will strengthen the control functions of the trade unions.

The union movement is entering a new stage in its development. Its supraenterprise and industrial structures are already being created. We fully support this process. The first experiences of fruitful cooperation between party links and enterprise union organizations deserve particular attention. It is of enormous significance. At the 10th plenum we said that the party does not base its relations with trade unions on the principle of formal organizational superiority. This idea should be translated into the language of practice shaped by the party jointly with the unions, while respecting their organizational and functional distinctness as an autonomous social organization. For the issue at stake is that the implementation of the jointly recognized aims of socialism, the interests of the working class and of all those in employment should take place, both on the part of the party and of the trade unions, in a manner which corresponds with their role in the sociopolitical system.

In the structures of socialist democracy that are being developed, an important role falls to the employees' self-management. The party sees an important element of the economic reform in active employees' self-management equipped with a broad range of powers. Then, self-management would give every worker the possibility of having real influence on the organization and on the course of production processes, on the results of his work, and on the method of their distribution. We are consistently striving in this direction.

The creation of conditions for employees' self-managements has been completed in principle. They are undertaking their business-like activity, gradually entering the role of bodies which socially comanage and codecide on the functioning of their enterprises. This process is not proceeding without struggle and difficulties.

It is not by chance that questions of self-management have found themselves at the center of the political struggle in the last few years. Trying to reform the idea of self-management contained in the principles of scientific socialism, opponents have put forward anarchosyndicalist slogans of a self-managing republic, directed against constitutional principles. We have resolutely rejected these tendencies and slogans.

Here and there, manifestations of administration mistrust of self-management, particularism, putting enterprise interests above all-social interests continue to appear. Attempts to exceed the powers and entitlements of self-management, to use it in political struggle, are also being made. The elimination of these tendencies and manifestations forms an important task for party enterprise echelons and organizations. This should also be served by the economic training of members of employees' councils.

The development of self-management forms, including employees' self-management, has created the need to enrich the methods of party activity. Party echelons and organizations should implement party policy with respect to employees' self-management, primarily through comrades being organized into party groups and acting through self-management organs. It is their duty to ensure that the decisions made by self-managements are in agreement with the direction of the socialist socioeconomic policy.

A constant and important task to which the party dedicates a great deal of attention is consolidating the socialist state and streamlining its structure and forms of action. Conducive to this is the implementation of the socialist principle of democracy, the stepping up of the participation of citizens in governing, the raising of the status of representative organs, of the Sejm and of people's councils at all levels, the consolidation of legal and public order, the promotion of political culture and social discipline, and the improvement of the functioning and efficiency of the organs of power.

All of these directions of action are indivisibly linked. True democracy is impossible in a weak and incapable state, just as there is no full strength or efficiency in a socialist state without democracy. A great deal has already been done in this respect. The Sejm's prestige and legislative activity have increased. The proposed law on people's councils aims at broadening the scope of their powers and responsibilities. The style of government work has radically changed. It can be expressed by what the chairman of the Council of Ministers described as work before a raised curtain.

The public has been widely informed about the government's intentions and actions. The process continues of putting things in order and increasing requirements put before the state administration, increasing its efficiency, and prestige and at the same time the awareness of serving the community.

An important role in the life of Poland is played by the system of the selection and improvement of state cadres. The duty of the party organizations and echelons at all levels is to provide active support for these processes, and to strengthen the feeling of interdependence between the state and the citizen.

An important role in the life of Poland is also played by the Polish People's Army. Standing guard over the independent and socialist state the Army has made a decisive contribution to the cause of national salvation. Our comrades in military uniforms are actively participating in the processes of putting in order and repairing many spheres of sociopolitical and economic life, in consolidating and improving the links of the state and economic administration and making them more effective.

The soldiers' patriotic commitment and their selflessness and efficiency in the discharge of their tasks are meeting with broad social recognition. All soldiers of the Polish Army are present in the most visible sectors of Polish life. The soldiers are quick to help wherever selfless effort, good organization, and a high degree of competence are required.

The party highly values the versatile role of the People's Army. The party sees the Army as an exceptionally important factor in integration and upbringing. Such a role of the Armed Forces is determined both by the nature of tasks related to Poland's defense and glorious historical traditions.

The PZPR Politburo addresses an appeal to all party organizations and echelons urging them to stress these values during the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. Recently we have seen an improvement in the state of order and public safety in the country. Difficult and responsible tasks are being carried out in this sector by members of the militia and security services. They deserve high appreciation and recognition. They bear the greatest hardships in the struggle for social calm in the country and for law and order. They obstruct the way for activities aimed against the socialist state and against public order. They combat criminal and economic offenses. They are expanding preventive actions aimed at thwarting dangerous sources of social ills. Actions undertaken in this respect will be all the more effective as social support increases for the difficult and responsible work of law enforcement bodies. The party and state institutions must consistently strengthen law and order in all spheres of life.

The law must be the same for everyone and all must observe it. The formation of such a responsibility in all echelons of power counteracts at the same time the hostility toward the organs of public order spread by the opponent.

In the party's ideological work an essential place should be occupied by shaping civic awareness and respect for the law. We intend to deal in depth with these important ideological aspects of strengthening the socialist statehood during the next Central Committee plenum. We will study the many valuable observations contributed by you comrades during interviews and answering questionnaires.

We are implementing the policy of agreement and cooperation in our society with due respect for the historically shaped differences in world outlook. Irrespective of these differences we have one common homeland. Of course the world outlook motivations of Marxists and Catholics are different. The point is to ensure that friction between different philosophies does not create antagonistic political divisions in society and does not harm the state's sociopolitical system.

We do not demand of believers that they make concessions in the sphere of religious beliefs and practices, but no one can ask that we depart from Marxist world-outlook convictions either. In our socialist state the equality of citizens is constitutionally guaranteed, regardless of religious belief. It is not this which constitutes the criterion for assessing civic attitudes. The attitude towards People's Poland is what counts, as expressed in work, respect for the law, and participation in social life.

Churches and religious associations have full freedom in our country to perform their religious functions. The principle of freedom of conscience is observed. In People's Poland the principle and practice of separation of state and church, implemented in many countries in periods considerably earlier in history, has been enacted.

Respect for that principle is one of the fundamental premises shaping relations in every modern state. We were and are for constructive relations between state and church, with benefit to the PPR. It is a positive fact also that the leadership of the Catholic Church and the overwhelming majority of the clergy are interested in just such a shaping of relations with the socialist state. However, the attempts to infringe on the secular nature of the state are in conflict with this approach. Politicizing of differences in world outlook, cases of utilizing ceremonies at places of religious worship to symbolize actions of an antistate nature aimed at social calm; such trends are harmful for the nation and the state and undoubtedly for the church as well. Therefore we cannot and will not pass them over in silence.

Although it is natural for differing philosophical concepts at the world outlook level to clash, in the political sphere, the inviolable barrier to this is the imperative of strict respect for the principles of the Constitution and the state policy of the PPR. In many areas of social life specific cooperation between the state and churches of all denominations is possible and useful. This applies to matters of such importance for the nation as inculcating respect for work and social property, concern for the permanence and good of the family, promulgating the fundamental moral values of a worthy life, combating all kinds of social pathology. Those areas of cooperation which are dictated by an honestly-conceived patriotism are of particular significance: concern for the security and inviolability of Poland's borders; calm and law and order in the homeland; defense of peace against the growing dangers.

We expect that the approaching visit by John Paul II to Poland will contribute, in accordance with the declared intentions of the government and the Episcopate, to strengthening social calm and national accord; that it will be a confirmation and, at the same time, a measure of the relations between state and church, both for today and for tomorrow. The visit by the pope will take place at a time when international tension is increasing dangerously. In the FRG, voices are multiplying against the Oder and the Neisse border. The West, and the American administration in particular, is applying economic sanctions and restrictions, carrying on propaganda aggression, striking at the material welfare and stability of our nation. We expect the important welfare and stability of our nation. We expect the important visit to further the efforts toward consolidating peace, halting the arms race, and preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

Comrades, socioeconomic policy problems continue to demand particular attention from the whole party. Progress in the area of economy is of key significance for the success of all our efforts. We spoke at length on these issues during the 10th plenum of the Central Committee and at the national session of the workers' aktiv. The conclusions and postulates voiced during these deliberations made it possible to verify the assumptions of the 3-year socioeconomic plan and those of the anti-inflation and austerity programs connected with it and to establish the socially approved ways and methods of implementing them. This applies in particular to the program for combatting inflation, which has been significantly restructured under the influence of worker opinion.

The conclusions from the session of the aktiv have accentuated once again the importance of preserving conformity in the policies of the party and the state and the socioeconomic interests of the working class. The principle of a just distribution of the costs of overcoming the crisis corresponds to the assumptions of our class socioeconomic policy. The economic reform introduced constitutes a lasting element in the socioeconomic transformations initiated by the party. The fact that it was undertaken in conditions that, after all, were exceptionally difficult testifies to the consistency with which conclusions have been drawn from past experiences.

Practice so far allows one to assess that the reform stimulates realistic thinking about the economy, favors initiative and thrift, disseminates the principles of cost accounting, and gradually brings nearer the implementation of the socialist principle: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work. The effects achieved in this field by an increasing number of enterprises are an emphatic confirmation, deserving to be widespread, of this assessment. But, at the same time, there are also known facts of negative activities contrary to the spirit of the reform and, above all, of the general interests of society. Party bodies and organizations, especially party members in the administration and self-managements, should resolutely oppose such practices.

The party will act consistently to implement, and simultaneously to perfect, the economic reform as the road leading to increased social effectiveness of management. Our permanent task is to mobilize the energy and initiative of the working people in the struggle to improve the quantitative and qualitative production results, to stimulate a general social movement for anti-inflationary and cost-cutting activities, to combat deformations of various kinds. This is not only of decisive importance for the improvement of the public's material standard of living, it is also an essential factor in sociopolitical stabilization.

We have drawn up the main areas and conditions of party activity. It is now better prepared for its tasks, far stronger than a year ago. By implementing the resolution of the seventh plenum, we have achieved clear progress in the ideological consolidation of our ranks, in equalizing the parts played by the factors of centralism and democracy, in increasing the effectiveness in action of all party links. This was confirmed by the accountability and election campaign, the biggest political campaign within the PZPR following the ninth congress. It demonstrated their commitment to the process of reconstructing the strength and unity of the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the process of the democratization of internal life. It confirmed the unity between the tasks of struggle and accord.

The meetings and conferences stressed their support for stepping up the fight against all manifestations of social injustice, exploitation of market difficulties to achieve income through profiteering, bad management, and waste -- against the phenomena of bureaucracy, moral deformations, and social pathology.

The party is consolidating its ideological and political unity. Opportunist tendencies have been considerably weakened -- they are contrary to the party's Marxist-Leninist views and distort the political line of the ninth congress. There is a growing and increasingly universal correct understanding of the ideological, political, and economic tasks. Struggle for totally overcoming the weaknesses and damaging tendencies which were manifested with such great intensity before the ninth congress is a permanent task for the party. There should be a resolute struggle against opportunist and sectarian views, and all manifestations of activity directed against the unity of the party, of disagreement with the statute and the demands of democratic centralism, should be opposed. The Central Committee orders an end to the activity of all movements, structures, forms, and seminars of a nonstatutory nature.

In order to implement this decision, the Politburo deemed inexpedient last December to continue the existence of those organizations, associations, and clubs whose activity leads to dispersal of the party's strength and does not contribute to consolidation of its ideological, political, and organizational unity in accordance with the requirements of the statute. While acting in this direction, one should return with (?equal) consistency to the tasks connected with the establishment of a profile for party publications which enables them to render the best possible service to the unification of the party, its activity and effectiveness in action, and the consolidation of all constructive social forces.

The party needs its forces concentrated, not dispersed. In line with the stand of the ninth congress, we will oppose views and firmly combat actions of an opportunist-revisionist and dogmatic-sectarian nature -- the phenomena of factionalism and demagogy. We shall discuss these issues at greater length during the 13th plenum, making broad use of the remarks and opinions submitted by you, comrades.

At the seventh plenum, we formulated the slogan: May the party be the same, but different. [Aby partia byla ta sama ale nie taka sama.] We are gradually implementing that slogan. The party has overcome the crisis of democratic centralism. It is regaining its organizational vigor. It is acquiring experience in leading the political struggle in new conditions. While perfecting the democratic mechanisms of operation, we are at the same time consolidating the party's ability to take uniform, organized action. Discipline in implementing the decisions adopted by central and local authorities is improving. (?The accountability and programmatic meetings and conferences), basing themselves on Leninist norms and principles of party activity, correctly came out in favor of increasing the role of basic organizations and elected party authorities; in favor of implementing the principle of the subservience of the party apparatus to committees and basic party organizations; in favor of openness and wide application of consultation involving activists and the broad masses of the membership in the decision-making process. We have entered this road and now we should broaden it more and more boldly.

There has been positive assessment of the more frequent contacts between representatives of party authorities at all levels and the broad membership: of the more rapid dissemination of political information; of perceptible improvement of the system of reacting to letters and recommendations, to the postulates of basic organizations and party members and nonparty people.

While stressing the importance of the party's organizational vigor and firmly coming out in favor of discipline at all levels, at the same time danger of the possibility of a return of bureaucratic practices in party life has been signalled. Also pointed out was the vital need to continue the struggle against all manifestations of arbitrariness, soullessness, and arrogance in the state and economic administration. The members active in these bodies should treat this as a party obligation.

The party is also gradually overcoming the crisis of organizational development. In general, the tendency for party members to drop out has been halted. The growing activity of many organizations is gradually shaping conditions for a natural process of joining the party by new members, above all workers, which will strengthen the class core of the party.

Despite considerable quantitative losses, the party has been toughened in struggle and is therefore stronger and more unified than before its ninth congress. It has retained its working class core and has defended its working class identity. The class interests of the workers are the most important for our party. Restoration of the trust and support of the working class requires that not only the party's program but the content and methods of activity of all its cells should be in accordance with the needs and expectations of the working people, so that actions should not contradict words, so that the party's language should be understandable to the workers, so that they may be able to discuss their problems publicly in the workers' party.

We are moving along this road. We will not lack persistence in solving all problems of significance for working people; in stimulating activity in this area of state and social institutions, in perfecting the mechanisms of state life. We will not lack determination in opposing a return to dismissing the opinions and strivings of the working people, to treating social moods lightly.

We will rebuild the party's leading role, removing all those negative factors that have torn the party away from the working class and pushed it toward self-satisfaction and insensitivity. Analysis of past and present needs make it vitally necessary for the party to change its style and methods of activity in fulfilling its leading role. In the forefront are the political and inspiring ways of exerting influence which result from the ideological system of principles, based on the knowledge and involvement of party members, on their personal standing and on their leading position in professional and social life.

The principal factor of the party's strength is the activity of primary party organizations. It is time to analyze their role, to concentrate on strengthening them and increasing their militancy. The position of every party organization depends, above all, on what it does for its milieu. This position cannot be settled by decree. The party's leading role must be forged in the everyday presence of its members and primary organizations in those milieus -- an active presence which allows one to discern problems earlier and better and to quickly react to them. Such a presence produces the feeling in the community that the party is vitally necessary to people. It allows the party to be the leader; it restores the proper sense to the word avant-garde.

Seen thus, the role of the party organizations will become a reality if the members of these organizations correctly understand the party's line and the conditions in which the country has found itself. This is a goal we should consistently strive for in intra-party work.

To lead also means to actively and tenaciously implement the party's program, to struggle against social ills. On the party's initiative, legislative activity is developing in this direction. Control actions and undertakings are being carried out, aimed against profiteering, unjustified self-enrichment, and cynical feeding off the crisis. Fiscal policy is being (?adapted) to needs and conditions. The approach to wastage, which is reprehensible in any condition but is particularly harmful in a crisis period, is being made more stringent. New measures for countering alcoholism, the demoralization of minors, and other social plagues have been set in motion.

It is also necessary to remember that preventive actions as well as painful sanctions against the guilty will fulfill their role when they are supported by an active educational process which spreads both the traditional, universal values and ethical attitudes and the new values closely connected with the humanistic contents of socialism.

The workers' ideals and moral models are: respect for work and for the dignity of the working man; respect for the common good, honesty, and reliability; and combating nepotism and intrigues. All of this should set the direction for the party and its cells. These ideals should set the moral atmosphere in the work forces and in the life of the community.

The leading role of the party toward the working class means both the fullest possible identification with its real interests and aspirations, and with its value system, as well as the duty to shape the socialist consciousness of this class.

All of this defines the role of the party's ideological and propaganda work. Well-organized training work and party members' participation in this work is a necessary condition for the party's growth, strength, and significance in educating the public. The most important tasks of this education are: to teach the ability to independently assess phenomena of sociopolitical life; to shape ideological views; to form the ability to conduct political struggle; to engage in polemics; to persuade; and to discuss.

We believe that the development of Marxist-Leninist thought is an extraordinarily important issue as is ensuring its appropriate place in the party and in the intellectual life of the country. This problem will be placed in the center of attention of the whole party at the next meeting of the Central Committee. The development of Marxist-Leninist thought is even more important as social sciences have become the arena of an acute political struggle. Marxist academic cadres have been subjected to a concentrated attack by the opponents. Some of the cadres have given in and today are on the path leading them outside Marxism. Some of the cadres shirk ideological involvement and an unequivocal political posture. However, there is also a large group of cadres that has retained Marxist-Leninist principles and orientation. This group voices its support for the party's political line and defends it against attacks.

It is on the basis of this group that we shall be implementing the program of the struggle for the socialist nature of social sciences and higher education establishments. In order to strengthen the party's scientific base we are considering setting up an academy of social sciences. Such an academy would draw on the cadre and material funds of the Higher School of Social Sciences and the Institute of the Principal Problems of Marxism-Leninism and also use some cadres from other scientific centers. The academy's tasks would be: to promote and coordinate political research, to carry out the academy's own research work, and to educate highly qualified cadres in the area of social sciences. The academy of social sciences, which is closely connected with the needs of socioideological life, should fulfill the role of the main center of Marxist-Leninist thought in Poland.

Great ideological and political responsibility rests with the mass media, especially with the party press. It is the media's task to contribute to the understanding of the class nature of phenomena which occur in the life of the country (?and the world), to uncover the objectives of the antinational and antiworkers' activities of the enemies of socialism, to explain the assumptions of the party's policies, to emphasize the sense of duty toward the socialist state, to present supreme values of patriotism and internationalism, [words indistinct] to participate in the struggle against evil.

Through responsible and well-argued criticism we should create a climate of high expectations -- tangible and moral ones -- in all areas of work, in the economy, and in all communities.

The ideological-political image of radio and television, and the content of published materials have improved considerably. However, the potential for a lively, strong, convincing, and appropriately tailored dialogue between the press, radio, and television and the public is far from being exhausted. This dialogue must be systematically improved. The trust of the reader, spectator, and listener must be gained. The quality of information and publications must be raised, their content and forms enriched, and the language must be improved. Care must be taken so that the language is flexible and its style is good.

At the same time party organizations within editorial boards and the editorial boards in charge of the party press should counteract attempts to use the mass media to disseminate alien or confused views and should react polemically to publications which will surface and which are incompatible with our party's policy and ideology. It is with this thought in mind that the Politburo has recommended that periodic assessments be systematically made of individual papers and periodicals and other organs of the mass media.

Comrades, the time that has passed since our ninth congress confirms the correctness of the line adopted at that congress, the line of struggle, agreements, and reforms.

Not a single element of the line of the ninth congress bears an ad hoc, tactical character. This line reflects real social needs. It aims at the implementation of the universal regular features of socialist construction in a manner that corresponds to the conditions and tasks of socialist construction in our country. This line bears witness to unity or patriotism and internationalism in the way our party thinks and acts. This line points to a path that makes it possible to spot and solve contradictions occurring in the process of socialist development and to stop them from accumulating to the point of becoming social upheavals or economic crises.

We have been, are, and will remain faithful to this line. We were right when we said during the ninth congress that our country had found itself at a crossroads. Today, after 2 very difficult years have passed, we are able to say that we have chosen the correct path, that socialism has been defended. We have rescued its achievements. We are restoring the shine of its ideals and principles. We are rebuilding the party's strength and cohesion, we are strengthening its ties with the working class and the working people, and we are implementing the provisions of socialist renewal. Things are not easy nor will they be. Behind us is merely the first, the most dramatic stage along this path.

Other tasks are still facing us and no doubt they will be just as complicated, just as difficult. One thing is already clear: Victory will be ours.

It is up to us, to our party, to the forces cooperating with it, and to all people of good will to speed up the positive processes, to accomplish a substantial change in the life of our socialist fatherland.

Report on Jaruzelski Speech

LD312318 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 31 May -- The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held its 12th plenary meeting today, May 31, to discuss the key issues of the socio-political situation and lines of party activity. The debates were presided over by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Wojciech Jaruzelski opened the debates, saying that the 12th plenum was to discuss the key issues of the present situation as well as the ideological, political and organization party tasks ensuing from this situation.

He said that the Political Bureau would present them in a report at today's plenum. We should also adopt attitude to the results of the work of the Central Committee commission on the explanation of the circumstances, facts and causes of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic as well as the draft theses of the centennial of the Polish working class movement. In line with the PUWP CC 4th plenary meeting this is the first stage of the preparation of a scientific Marxist-Leninist synthesis of the century-long history of the Polish working class movement.

By that we confirm once more our consistence and endurance in realizing the 9th congress line, in our accounting for its decisions.

The tasks facing the present plenum were strongly emphasized during report and electoral meetings and conferences.

Our plenary meeting -- first after the campaign -- is a continuation and a summation of its results.

Preparation for the current plenary meeting of the Central Committee have been under way for many months already. They were preceded by a wide party consultation.

The discussion on the ideological and programme declaration "What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Heading" has embraced virtually all the party cells -- from the base party organizations to the voivodship committees.

The lines of the Political Bureau report as well as a draft resolution on the popularization of the classic works of Marxism-Leninism and the achievements of the Polish Marxist thought were evaluated by selected party communities in big enterprises and educational and cultural institutions.

In keeping with a Political Bureau recommendation, five problem commissions of the Central Committee -- for ideology, internal party affairs, science and education, culture and youth -- held special meetings in preparation for the 12th plenum. Overall they held 18 meetings, including 5 meetings of the ideological commission.

Central Committee members and alternate members held a broad letter consultation on the key ideological and political issues. It produced an interesting creative outcome and would be used appropriately.

Also the information (?and) consultation meetings held by members of the party central authorities discussed the organizational and substantive issues of today's plenum. The course of these many months long party consultations had a decisive impact on the final shape of the present meeting. The collected materials projected a sharp picture of the situation and key lines of its development in both the country and the party itself. It presented the most important fronts of political struggle and the most urgent social expectations, and formulated the proposals for various actions and decisions.

Simultaneously, this work made us aware that the richness of materials, the vast range of their subjects and problems require an extremely serious treatment -- hence they cannot be embraced by one plenary meeting, said Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Guided by this assessment, the CC Political Bureau adopted the programme and organizational assumptions for the 12th plenum last April 12, which found its reflection in a published communique.

The Political Bureau departed from the assumption that in the current situation it is (?indispensable) for the 12th plenum to take up the key issues of the most timely character for realization, that is those which are connected with the most immediate tasks.

At the same time this will make it possible to [word indistinct] up the basis of departure for the further development of long-range ideological issues at the 13th plenum.

We presented these issues in the subject list and outline of the theses of the report for the 13th plenary meeting which has been handed to comrades. By that we determined in an unequivocal way the direction of further work. This will also create a favourable climate and foundations for the adoption of the ideological programme declaration "What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Heading For."

Hence we are facing tasks which require an enormous effort, work, reflection and study. The 12th and 13th plenary meetings of the Central Committee continue the achievements of earlier Central Committee meetings -- especially the 7th and 9th plenary meetings as well as the 1st national ideological theoretical conference. They will also make an important stage in the realization of the 9th congress decisions. On the other hand these plenary meetings must also be treated as important preparatory steps to the 3rd national party conference and the adoption of a long-range party programme.

Wojciech Jaruzelski recalled that already 4 months had passed since the latest 11th joint plenary meeting of the PUWP CC and the UPP CC. This period was filled with intensive work of the whole party and its Central Committee.

The report-programme campaign was held until April. All the members of the central authorities of our party took an active part in it.

In that period we held two rounds of information consultative meetings on the current ideological issues and the cadre policy, pointed out the PUWP CC first secretary.

Forty one meetings of the Central Committee problem commissions were organized. The intensive pace of Central Committee work after the 11th plenary meeting is being kept up.

The statute puts us under an obligation to hold plenary sessions "as needs arise but no more seldom than once every three months". It should be recalled that the present plenary session is already the 12th one over the 22 months that passed since the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP and the 6th one in the period after the declaration of martial law. Thus, we work much more actively than stipulated for by the statute. We conducted preparations jointly for the present 12th and the next 13th plenary meeting and put a lot of effort into them.

Comrades studied yesterday a report by the CC's commission for explaining the circumstances, facts and causes of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic. Besides, they received the following materials:

For the 12th plenary session -- "A Draft of Assertions To Mark the Centenary of the Polish Working Class Movement", "A Report on the Observances of the Centenary of the Polish Working Class Movement", "A Draft of Resolution on Propagating Works by Classics of Marxism and Leninism and Attainments of the Polish Revolutionary Marxist Thought" and "Opinions and Remarks on Ideological Problems by Members and Alternate Members of the CC."

For the 13th plenum -- "Topics and Outlines of Theses of a Report for the 13th Plenary Session", a draft of the ideological and programme declaration "What Are We Fighting For and What Are We Reading For", a set of materials determining the principles of policy and methods of the party's personnel activity.

Concluding his opening address, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the list presented above testifies to the fact that the party worked very intensively and conscientiously presents reports on putting decisions and resolutions into effect. This should be a fixture of our work.

Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC Jozef Czyrek delivered report of the PUWP CC Political Bureau "Key Problems of the Social and Political Situation and Lines of the Party's Action." (a summary of the text is given separately).

Next, member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and chairman of the CC's commission for explaining the circumstances, facts and causes of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic Hieronim Kubiak delivered a report on the work of this commission (summary separately).

Later, PUWP CC Secretary and head of the CC's team for preparing a synthesis of the history of the Polish working class movement Marian Orzechowski delivered a report on the work of this team (summary separately).

Then, the discussion began in which [number indistinct] persons took the floor (summary of the discussion separately).

Later, the PUWP Central Committee approved of the proposals, tabled by the Political Bureau, to appoint Wladyslaw Loranc, Witold Nawrocki and Stefan Zawodzinski heads of the CC's Departments for Ideology, Culture and Agriculture respectively. Wojciech Jaruzelski cordially congratulated them on their appointments on behalf of the CC.

A proposal for changes and supplements of the composition of the PUWP CC problem commission was also approved at the session. A resolution of the 12th PUWP CC plenary meeting "On Key Problems of the Socio-Political Situation and Lines of the Party's Action" was adopted together with the proposed amendments. A resolution was later adopted on the results of the work of the PUWP CC's commission set up to explain the circumstances, facts and causes of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic. The CC adopted a resolution "On Propagating Works by Classics of Marxism and Leninism and Attainments of the Polish Revolutionary Marxist Thought".

PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski took the floor at the end of the debates.

Next the Central Committee adopted resolutions: first -- the PUWP CC 12th plenary meeting's resolution On the Key Issues of the Socio-Political Situation and Lines of Party Activity. Second -- the resolution on the outcome of the work of the PUWP CC commission set up to explain the causes and course of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic. Third -- the resolution On the Popularization of works of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism and the Achievements of the Polish-Revolutionary Marxist Thought.

Summary of Kubiak Speech

LD010223 Warsaw PAP in English 2037 GMT 31 May 83

["H. Kubiak's Speech (Summary)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 31 May -- The study of the sources, course [word indistinct] consequenses of the crisis was the task of the commission. So it was a natural thing to focus attention on adverse phenomena, the truth about the history of the party and People's Poland being such that although there were highly adverse phenomena in it, standing in the way of development and making it that the accomplishments of socialism were smaller than they could have been. Yet for every honest observer, not only in Poland for that matter, it must be obvious that a historical breakthrough was made in our country.

It was an important and positive fact in the commission's work that the latter was done at a time when the party started implementing the resolutions of the 9th extraordinary congress.

The creation of the [word indistinct] solutions, announced by the congress, is the guarantee, in the commission's view, for the effective influencing of resolving class controversies in the interest of the working class, of all the strata and forces connected with socialism and the implementation of the principles of social justice.

At the same time, solutions like that make it possible to detect in time phenomena which give rise to social contradictions and -- basing on this -- to correct political and economic solutions so as to effectively prevent these contradictions from transforming into conflicts and social crises.

As a result of the commission's actions, partial syntheses were formulated and so was a final report. The commission took a decision to pass expert reports, preliminary analyses, fragmentary syntheses, calendars of series of events, and other working matter to the Central Committee's archive. They can be a significant contribution to further analyses of the history of our party.

In its motions, the commission suggests that a team of authors be set up to write over a definite period of time a history of the party viewed against the background of and in close connection with the history of Polish People's Republic.

The commission's final report was submitted to the Central Committee.

While making a critical assessment of the past experience, the commission on the one hand tried to formulate general lines of right actions, and to point to what should not be done and from what one should dissociate oneself in party and state activity and in the message and organization of public life -- on the other.

The commission came up with a whole range of postulates which can contribute to strengthening Leninist principles in the party's internal ife, to creative development of Marxist-Leninist political ideas, and to the formation upon that basis of the culture of social coexistence in our country.

At the same time we voice the conviction that the commission's conclusions will effectively support actions to put an end to the economic and socio-political crisis in our country and to set up -- in tune with the programmatic decisions of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress -- guarantee to prevent recurrence of conflicts and social crises.

Summary of Orzechowski Speech

LD010346 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT 31 May 83

[Speech by Mariam Orzechowski at PUWP CC Plenum (Summary)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 31 May -- Referring to draft theses "On the Centenary of the Polish Working Class Movement" submitted to members of the Central Committee, PUWP CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski stressed that they contain a vast ideological load and help to create the ideological dimension of the 12th plenary meeting.

Defence of the heritage of our movement, said Orzechowski, return to the sources has become part and parcel of the struggles for ideological and political strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist party enjoying the confidence of the working masses -- the struggle for overcoming internal counter-revolution and pulling Poland out from the deep socio-economic [word indistinct].

Marian Orzechowski recalled that the ideas underlying the working class movement to Poland were strivings for the change of the social, political and spiritual situation of the proletariat and its emancipation -- a condition for and beginning of liberation of all working people, a vision of a socio-political system of social justice, civic and social equality and human dignity originating from work, and the conviction that materialization of the vision cannot be a gift from heaven, the good will of the wealthy and enlightened, but the result of struggle waged by the working class itself.

From the very beginning internationalism has been an important part of that vision manifested throughout the century of the Polish working class movement by particularly close ties with the revolutionary working class movement of Russia, the party of Lenin, since less than 40 years now assuming the form of relations of alliance, friendship and mutual assistance and solidarity between the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and between the Polish United Workers Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Moving on to the period of the socialist revolution and creation of the foundations of socialism in Poland, Marian Orzechowski emphasized that the social programme of the working class, its ideals and moral values, the sense of justice, the [word indistinct] of freedom, respect for human dignity, class solidarity, the high rank and work -- all that has struck roots in social consciousness and exerted profound influence on the life of our entire nation.

Materialization of that programme has assured the country of independence and security within new and equitable frontiers through establishment of a lasting alliance with the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states.

Under the leadership of the Polish Workers Party and its ally, the Polish Socialist Party, and, later on, the Polish United Workers Party, the working masses have laid durable foundations of socialist socio-political, economic and cultural transformations.

Defining the long-standing multi-current character of the Polish working class movement, as well as aspirations for unity of action, Marian Orzechowski stated that without tradition of cooperation, without realization that fragmentation of the working class movement is the source of its weakness, unification of the movement in [word indistinct] on the basis of Marxism and Leninism would not have been possible, nor would it have been possible to overcome [word indistinct] and opportunism, which over the decades tended to weaken the working class and was the source of setbacks.

Marian Orzechowski said next that the [word indistinct] and traditions have become inspiration for forming questions and answers concerning the present day and tasks facing the party today. They have also become the point of departure for the ideological-programmatic declaration "What Are We Fighting For, Where Are We Heading".

Perceiving one of the sources of the PUWP's historic right to exercise the leading role in society and the guiding one in the state in the movement's past, one hundred years of its existence, in its lasting attainments and experiences, we also draw a number of conclusions and lessons without which it would be impossible to play this role.

They concern universal essence of socialism as a system of social justice and the necessity of taking account of concrete national and historical conditions always when embarking on the road of socialism and of applying the fundamental principles of socialism so as to properly modify these principles in details and adapt them to national and national-state differences.

From the past, we draw lessons about the working class as a vanguard of social progress, its historic mission to overthrow capitalism and to build socialism, political unity of the working class as a condition for the effectiveness of its striving, the necessity to rally all forces of progress, patriotism and socialism around the working class, and about proletarian internationalism, international solidarity of the working [words indistinct] from the community of goals and strivings.

We draw conclusions from these experiences about the Marxist-Leninist party that is ideologically and politically closely knit and uniform, the basic instrument of the working class in the process of struggle for the implementation of its historic interests, about the role of the party which serves these interests, and about the tie to one's own class and the working masses as an indispensable condition for the effectiveness of the party's action.

More on Plenum Speakers

LD311559 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 31 May 83

[Excerpts] The 12th PZPR Central Committee plenum is in session in Warsaw, under the chairmanship of Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Franciszek Jeziorek, member of the Central Committee, construction foreman from the construction works board at the regional directorate of state railways in Katowice, drew attention to the still prevailing, anxiety-causing phenomenon of sterile fault-finding [jalowe krytykanctwo], which also appears among party members. The speaker stated that the only criteria for assessing the effectiveness of activities of the party and the organs of authority are the interests of the working class. The party cannot substitute for the administration, but has to inspire and control.

Kazimierz Miniur, member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the party factory committee at the Lenin steelworks, stressed the significance of the large workers' milieus, large work enterprises, in the shaping of views and moods.

The need for more concern as regards the shaping of the ideological countenance of the younger generation was raised by Zzenobia Zurawska, deputy member of the Central Committee, old age pensioner, and former seamstress at the (Dzianoteks) enterprise in Dydgoszcz.

Problems of the function and status of the moral upbringing of young people, were also raised by Zbigniew Kowalski, deputy member of the Central Committee, teacher, first secretary of the party college committee at Gdansk Technical University.

Discussion continues.

Plenum Ends

LD312157 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 31 May 83

[Excerpt] The 12th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee has ended. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee, delivered a speech at the end of the session.

ILO TO INVESTIGATE SITUATION OF UNIONS

NC271946 Paris AFP in English 1905 GMT 27 May 83

[Text] Geneva, May 27 (AFP) -- The International Labor Organization's Administrative council decided here today by 44 votes to 6 with 5 abstentions to authorize a committee to investigate the situation of Polish unions.

ILO Director Francis Blanchard of France, who was questioned at the close of the council session, said that the committee would consist of three independent experts who are not ILO members.

Nominees for the committee will be submitted on June 23 to the council, which will resume regular sessions after a three-week hiatus because of the International Labor Conference, which will open here Wednesday.

Mr Blanchard emphasized that the inquiry committee should not be regarded as a "tribunal" and added that its constitution should not be seen as a "sanction."

He dismissed the possibility that the Polish Government might decide to boycott the conference or quit the ILO itself because of today's decision to carry out the inquiry.

Asked directly if Warsaw had informed him that it intended to end its participation in ILO activities, the director said that he had not received "any formal notification on this subject."

It is the seventh time in 22 years that the ILO has formed an investigating committee to probe a situation that it regarded as especially critical.

Previous inquires were in Portugal in 1961, Liberia in 1963, Greece in 1968, Chile in 1974, Panama in 1978, and Haiti last year. The probes were recommended by the ILO Committee on Union Freedom.

The decision to form the committee followed a year of study by the ILO of a complaint filed a year ago with the International Labor Conference by Marc Blondel, worker delegate of the French Force Ouvriere Union.

Mr Blondel said last night that the ILO would be the "first international organization to authorize an inquiry into conditions in Poland since the imposition of martial law in December 1981."

No other United Nations body has the juridical authority necessary for making such a decision, he said.

Government Protests Decision

LD312340 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2035 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] Poland will not participate in the next session of the International Labor Organization. This is in protest against the decision of the ILO Administrative council of 27 May to pass the so-called Polish case to an investigative commission.

A statement issued by the Polish Government regarding this matter was handed to the director general of the ILO. We read among other things that should steps be taken to implement the Administrative council decision, the Polish Government will suspend its cooperation with the ILO. It also reserves the right to take appropriate steps with regard to Poland's membership in this organization, depending on its future attitude in Polish affairs.

GOVERNMENT UNIONS COMMITTEE DISCUSSES TAX ISSUE

LD302233 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 May 83

[Excerpts] A session of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs has taken place.

Issues connected with the equalization tax were predominant. The consultation with union members, which lasted several hours, just like the social consultation on the proposed tax system, revealed divergent views.

The general principle of introducing a universal tax system was not questioned, however, many reservations were expressed concerning the detailed proposals. The proposed tax-free increment of Z300,000 annually was considered too low and fears were expressed that it may be a disincentive.

Differences of opinion were also evident concerning the proposed system of turnover and income tax in relation to crafts and private trade and services. In the view of the majority in the discussion, this system is too mild and disproportionate to the profits attained in this sector.

Consultation with the trade unionists concludes, in principle, the social consultation on the draft equalization tax and the tax on the nonagricultural, unsocialized economy. The results of these consultations will soon be considered by the government and then the draft solutions will be submitted to the Sejm.

All the proposals of the trade unionists will be submitted to the government, and if some of these are not taken into account, then, in accordance with the prinicples of consultation, the government will publicly explain why they have not been accepted.

FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVES VATICAN OFFICIAL

LD301623 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, secretary of the Council for Public Affairs of the Church, arrived today from the Vatican for a several-day visit to Poland. The archbishop was met at Okecie Airport by Stefan Olszowski, minister of foreign affairs. The guest was also met by Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski, deputy secretary of the Episcopate of Poland.

FRG FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR VISIT

AU311206 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1200 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 31/5/1983 -- On May 31 Hans Dietrich-Genscher, vice-chancellor and foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, arrived in Bucharest, to pay a visit at the invitation of Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Andrei. The guest was (?met) by Stefan Andrei and other officials, at the International Otopeni Airport. Ion Rimbu, Romanian ambassador in Bonn, and Dr. Michael Jovy, West German ambassador in Bucharest, attended.

Talks, Lunch With Ceausescu

AU311828 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 31/5/1983 -- On May 31, Romania's president Nicolae Ceausescu received at Snagov Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, now on a visit to Bucharest. The interview was attended by Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei.

The West German minister conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu cordial greetings as well as wishes of good health on behalf of West German President Karl Carstens and of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and requested that his friendly greetings and best wishes be conveyed to the president and the chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

During the interview, views were exchanged on the stage and prospects of the Romanian-West German relations as well as on the current international situation.

In that framework, the joint wish was expressed to take further action and expand the relations between the two countries on the basis of mutual advantage and interest, in the spirit of the principles of equal rights, national independence and noninterference in internal affairs, for the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of peace, security, detente and understanding in Europe and all over the world. Special stress was laid on the ways of dynamizing and amplifying commercial exchanges, collaboration in production and in third markets, cooperation in the technical-scientific and cultural fields, and the joint willingness was manifested to work for giving a new and strong impetus to the Romanian-West German relations as a whole.

During the exchange of opinions on current international issues, concern was shown over the tension extant in the world, with emphasis on the necessity to take action for the lessening of tension, the resumption and furtherance of the policy of detente, peace, collaboration and respect for the peoples' independence, the elimination of the use and threat of force from interstate relations, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the conflictual states of affairs in various parts of the world.

The talk focused on questions related to the situation in Europe, to the strengthening of security and cooperation on the continent, the halting of the nuclear arms race, the passage to disarmament measures, nuclear in the first place, the ensurance of the success of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, of the negotiations in Vienna on the mutual reduction of troops and armaments and adjacent measures in central Europe, just as to the ensurance of the success of the Madrid meeting.

In order to ensure the dynamics of the process of security and cooperation in Europe it was stressed that action should be taken for an urgent conclusion of the Madrid meeting, all states' efforts being channelled towards covenanting a document which should stipulate the convening of a conference on disarmament and confidence-building in Europe, the continuity of the process initiated in Finland's capital city.

Concern was expressed over the continuation of the arms race, stress being laid on the necessity of stopping it, of passing to disarmament measures, to cutting down military expenditures, effectives and armaments, to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in particular, in order to achieve a military balance at an ever lower level by preventing the deployment of further medium-ranged missiles in Europe and withdrawing and destroying the ones in place.

Opinions were also exchanged on the situation in the Middle East, stress being laid on the fact that action should be taken for a global, just and durable settlement of the conflict in the area, for the guaranteeing of Lebanon's security, independence and territorial integrity the resolution of the Palestinian issue, for seeking ways of establishing security and peace in that part of the world.

It was emphasized that the strengthening of the collaboration between the two countries on an international plane served the policy of peace, security and understanding throughout the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu entertained Hans-Dietrich Genscher to lunch.

The interview and lunch passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

Talks With Andrei

AU311827 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 31/5/1983 -- Official talks started in Bucharest on Tuesday, May 31, between Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Attending the talks are Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ion Rimbu, Romania's ambassador in Bonn, other officials. Also present is Michael Jovy, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bucharest.

During the talks, aspects are approached of the relations between Romania and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as international questions of mutual interest.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES U.S. FOUNDATION OFFICIAL

AU311216 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1201 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 31/5/1983 -- On May 31 President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Arthur Schneider, president of the U.S. foundation "Appeal to Consciousness," who visited Romania.

Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei participated in the interview.

On the occasion talks passed in a cordial atmosphere.

COMMUNIQUE ON LESOTHO PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

AU310840 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 May 83 p 5

["Communique on the Official Visit Paid to Romania by Dr Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, 25-27 May 1983"]

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Dr Leabua Jonathan, prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, paid an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania 25-27 May 1983.

The prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho was accompanied by Evaristus R. Sekhonyana, minister to the prime minister in charge of planning, employment and economic affairs and minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Dr Leabua Jonathan, prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho and chairman of the Basutho National Party [BNP]. On this occasion the guest extended, on behalf of King Moshoeshoe II, warm greetings, together with best wishes for good health and personal happiness, and wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Romanian people.

Expressing thanks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, extended good wishes to King Moshoeshoe II and wishes for prosperity and progress to the friendly Basotho people.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho asserted their determination to act to promote and develop cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic, and cultural-scientific fields in conformity with the interests of the Romanian and Basotho peoples and the general cause of peace and security in the world, with progress and cooperation, and the independent development of all nations.

They also expressed the desire of both sides to continue to intensify their political dialogue and the exchange of opinions and experience between representatives of their parties, parliaments, and governments and between political and civic organizations in Romania and Lesotho. They stressed the important role played in this respect by strengthening relations of cooperation between the RCP and BNP.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the prime minister of Lesotho had an extensive exchange of views on major problems of the international situation.

Expressing their profound concern with the aggravation of the international situation, Romania's president and the prime minister of Lesotho stressed that this is the result of the continuation of certain crises and conflicts in various parts of the world, of the dangerous escalation of the arms race, and a result of the tendency toward interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, of the use or threat of force, of the continuation of the policy of preserving the division of the spheres of influence, of the world economic crisis, and of a lack of progress in solving the economic problems confronting the developing countries.

The two sides stressed the need for the peoples throughout the world to act with great energy and closely united to stop the trend toward the international situation worsening and to establish new and democratic relations between countries based on respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, full equal rights, noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, nonrecourse to the use or threat of force, and the right of all nations to a free and independent existence.

They greatly appreciated the peace movements and actions which have taken place and are taking place in Europe and throughout the world, being convinced that they are of particular significance for the struggle for safeguarding mankind from a nuclear catastrophe and for rejecting the policy of force and strengthening international peace and security.

The president of Romania and the prime minister of Lesotho expressed their profound concern with the escalation of the arms race and stressed their conviction that the achievement of practical and effective disarmament measures constitutes a central problem of current international relations on which peace, security, stability, and the progress of all mankind depend. They firmly advocated the cessation of the arms race in order to proceed to concrete measures for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and utilization of the funds thus made available for development purposes, especially for the development of the developing countries.

In stressing the serious consequences of the current world economic crisis, of preserving the phenomenon of underdevelopment in large areas of the globe, the two sides stressed that the elimination of that phenomenon and the establishment of a new international economic order is a problem of our epoch. They stressed the need for extensive concrete measures in this respect and for immediately launching global negotiations within the United Nations. They stressed the importance of the sixth UN Conference for Trade and Development which will take place in Belgrade in June 1983 and expressed their conviction that this conference will lead to practical solutions to international economic problems, especially for the developing countries. They reasserted the determination by the two countries to actively contribute to successfully concluding its proceedings.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho advocated the strengthening of solidarity and the unity of action and cooperation among the developing countries. They believe that it is necessary to organize a summit conference of the developing countries that will discuss the complex problems of underdevelopment and of building a new international economic order, that will work out measures for cooperation among the developing countries aimed at their socioeconomic progress, and that will work out a joint strategy for global negotiations with the developed countries.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania presented his views on the European situation to the prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho.

The two sides expressed their concern for the danger posed by the accumulation on the European Continent of huge military forces and of an immense arsenal of weapons, primarily nuclear weapons. They stressed the need to do everything necessary to achieve a Europe without any kind of nuclear weapons, a continent of peace and cooperation while each country's sociopolitical system is strictly respected.

Stressing the attention their countries pay to establishing security and cooperation in Europe, the sides expressed their conviction that the achievement of those urgent requirements will exert a positive influence on the overall international political situation and will be in keeping with the interests of peace in the world.

In this context, the two sides stressed the need to intensify efforts by all countries participating in the Madrid meeting, so that the proceedings of that meeting will conclude with positive results that will lead to the convening of a conference devoted to trust and disarmament in Europe, ensure the continuity of the process of establishing security on the continent, and contribute to ensuring the framework for each European nation's free and unhampered development.

The two sides stressed the importance of developing relations of cooperation between the Balkan countries, of resolving all problems that still exist between them exclusively by peaceful means, and of turning the Balkans into an area of peace and cooperation, free from nuclear weapons.

In examining the situation in Africa, the president of Romania and the prime minister of Lesotho stressed the increasingly stronger assertion of the desire by African countries and peoples to develop freely and independently, without any outside interference.

They stressed the urgent requirement to ensure Namibia's independence and the Namibian people's right to freely choose their future development road in keeping with their legitimate interests and aspirations. They reasserted their full support for the efforts made by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and the Nonaligned Movement toward seeking a political solution to the Namibian problems; they also stressed the need to immediately apply the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council. They also expressed militant solidarity and complete support for the just struggle waged by the Namibian people for freedom and independence under the leadership of SWAPO [Southwest African People's Organization] -- the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

The president of Romania and the prime minister of Lesotho stressed the need to completely and urgently eliminate the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination and reasserted their countries' support for the struggle waged by the South African people against racism and for their right to freedom, equality, and social progress.

They firmly condemned the aggressive actions undertaken by the Pretoria racist regime against the Kingdom of Lesotho, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Republic of Angola, and other independent countries in that area.

The president of Romania and the prime minister of Lesotho favored resolving disputes between the African countries exclusively by peaceful means and negotiations between the sides concerned and stressed the important role in devolving upon the Organization of African Unity in resolving the differences and states of tension on that continent by political means, in strengthening solidarity and the unity of the African countries, and in creating conditions so that those countries are able to devote their material and human potential to implementing their socioeconomic development programs.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho reiterated their adherence to the principle of settling all problems and conflicts between countries exclusively by peaceful means through negotiations with the participation of all sides concerned.

The two sides reiterated their countries' positions in favor of achieving a global, just, and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of Israel's complete withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, of recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to create their own independent state, and on the basis of ensuring the integrity and independence and sovereignty of all countries in that area.

The sides reiterated their conviction that the solution of the Palestinian problem is of fundamental importance for a comprehensive and lasting settlement in that area and that it is necessary for the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in all negotiations regarding that settlement.

They stressed the serious situation that exists in Lebanon and favored the withdrawal of Israeli troops from that country to ensure the independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, the quiet and peace of Lebanon, something that would exert a positive influence on the overall situation in the Middle East.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho favored the democratization of international life; the increased role of the developing countries, of the nonaligned countries, and of the small and medium-sized countries; and the strengthening and increased role of the United Nations in the active discussion and solution of problems in the international arena.

Proceeding from common interests and identical positions of the two countries on major international problems, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho decided to intensify consultations and cooperation between representatives of Romania and Lesotho within the United Nations and other international forums, within the Group of 77, and within the Nonaligned Movement with a view to increasing their contribution to the just solution -- in the interests of peoples -- of the pressing problems confronting mankind today.

During the visit, the prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, and the prime minister of the Kingdom Lesotho, Dr Leabua Jonathan, conducted official talks during which they informed each other about the current concerns of the two countries in the field of socioeconomic development and examined the stage of bilateral relations and prospects for developing them, especially at an economic level.

The talks between the two prime ministers were attended on the Romanian side by Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister of the government; Lucian Dragut, secretary of the Council of Ministers; Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Adrian Stoica, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Marin Constantin, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry; Gheorghe Codreanu, secretary of state at the State Planning Committee; Petre Tanasie, director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Nicolae Dumitru, deputy director general of the Romanian radio-television station.

For the Basotho side by: E. R. Sekhonyana, minister to the prime minister in charge of planning, employment and economic affairs and minister of foreign affairs; R. P. Matete, private secretary of the prime minister; O.T. Sefako, ambassador of the Kingdom of Lesotho in Copenhagen; Q. Moji, standing deputy secretary in charge of planning, employment and economic affairs; T. Ntsame, director of radio-television; and I. Vukovich, economic counselor to the prime minister.

The two prime ministers stressed the particular importance their governments attach to developing relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Kingdom of Lesotho in all fields of common interest.

The two prime ministers assessed that Romania and Lesotho have possibilities available to achieve economic and technical cooperation ventures and to carry out trade exchanges.

Taking into consideration the targets of the socioeconomic development programs of the two countries, the two sides agreed to develop cooperation in such fields as geology and mining, agriculture and forestry, construction and the construction material industry, and in transportation and telecommunications.

The two prime ministers established that their governments should support the development and diversification -- on mutually advantageous bases -- of the exchange of commodities between the countries and that the Romanian and Basotho economic organizations should reach an agreement on what products should be exchanged.

They agreed to act to create the necessary legal framework to conclude agreements on economic cooperation, trade exchange and payments, and on cooperation in other fields of common interest.

During the visit, the two prime ministers signed a program on implementing the understandings and agreements concluded in the field of economic cooperation and trade exchange between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Kingdom of Lesotho. They also signed an agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation; a protocol on developing trade exchange in 1983-1984; and an agreement on economic and technical cooperation in agriculture and forestry.

The two sides agreed to develop relations between the two countries in education, science culture, mass media, and sports. They agreed to intensify the exchange of radio programs and television movies on the economic, social, and cultural-scientific development of the two countries and on relations of cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Kingdom of Lesotho in various fields of activity. On the occasion of the national day of the two countries, Romanian radio-television and Lesotho radio-television will carry special programs dedicated to the development of the two countries and to bilateral cooperation relations between them.

During the visit, the prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the people accompanying him visited economic units and sociocultural establishments in Bucharest Municipality and the Giurgiu County. Everywhere the guests enjoyed a warm and cordial reception, an expression of the feelings of friendship and mutual regard established between the two countries and peoples.

The prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Dr Leabua Jonathan, extended an invitation to the prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Constantin Dascalescu, to pay an official visit to Lesotho. The invitation was accepted with pleasure; the date of the visit will be established later through diplomatic channels.

The two prime ministers expressed their satisfaction with the fruitful results of the talks which were held in an atmosphere of friendship, understanding, and mutual respect, designed to contribute to developing relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Kingdom of Lesotho in the interests of the Romanian and Basotho people and of the general cause of peace, national independence, security, and cooperation in Europe, Africa, and throughout the world.

Bucharest, 27 May 1983

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS RCP EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

AU301924 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 30 May 83

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 30/5/1983 -- A meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was held on May 30 under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

A report was examined and approved on the occasion regarding the setting of prices for production and deliveries per linear meter, square meter or per pieces with a view to stimulating the reduction of raw and subsidiary materials consumption. While setting the production and delivery prices according to the new units of measure such criteria shall be considered as the maintenance of the current general level of prices, and the stimulation of producers and of end-users in saving materials. It was considered that thus prices could be set for a wider range of standard dimensions, the possibility being so provided for a better satisfaction of the beneficiaries' requirements in conditions of a more efficient use of materials.

It was decided that until September 30 the State Committee for Prices, the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance together with the other ministries should analyse the results of the application of the proposed system of prices and advance measures to improve it and extend it to other products with which it is economically justified.

The Executive Political Committee indicated that, in 30 days, the ministries, having the accord of the state committee for prices should fix production and delivery prices in the new units of measure with all the envisaged standard dimensions per assortments. As for the exportables, deliveries will be made in the units of measures agreed upon under the contracts concluded with the foreign partners.

A report was also examined on the activity of the credit cooperatives that operate as distinct self-financed and self-managed units within the cooperative system for the production, purchase and sale of goods.

The 1982 economic-financial balance sheet shows that the total volume of activities realized by those units last year was 4.7 per cent larger than in 1981. The loans granted by those units also rose by 9.1 per cent.

It was instructed that further action should be taken to enlarge the volume of activities carried on by those cooperatives, especially by increasing the number of their members, as well as by augmenting the social fund.

It was particularly requested that loans should be made primarily to the end of developing farm-food production.

During the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP of May 30 President Nicolae Ceausescu read an account of the state visit he paid to Turkey over May 20-23 together with Elena Ceausescu at the invitation of President Kenan Evren.

The Executive Political Committee expressed full satisfaction at the productive results of the Romanian-Turkish summit dialogue and voiced its belief that the understandings covenanted and the decisions made on the occasion would contribute to the more powerful development of the relations of collaboration and friendship between them, to intensify contacts at various levels on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, equal rights and mutual advantage.

The Executive Political Committee emphasized the importance of the programme of economic cooperation between Romania and Turkey, of the other understandings covenanted on the further development of collaboration.

The Executive Political Committee pointed to the importance of the exchange of views between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenan Evren on international questions, of the conclusions reached. In that context it was highly appreciative of the determination of Romania and Turkey to cooperate more closely on an international plane to make an enhanced contribution to preventing the situation in the world from worsening, for the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente and peace on the basis of observance, in interstate relations, of the unanimously acknowledged principles of the international law, for an exclusively peaceful settlement of all states of conflict in various parts of the world, the use and threat of force being given up in the international life, for an equal and active participation of all states, irrespective of size or social system, in the resolution of the major questions confronting mankind.

The Executive Political Committee expressed its full approval of the two states' will to work for a successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting with the covenanting of a substantial and balanced final document which should reassert the firm observance of the principles of the Final Act, comprise the decision on the convening of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament on the continent, ensure the continuation of the manysided process initiated in Helsinki, contribute to strengthening the relations among the participating states, to building security and developing cooperation in Europe. The stand of Romania and of Turkey was assessed on the balanced reduction of armaments in Europe, under control, with a view to enhancing confidence on the continent, on the importance of the cessation of the arms race and of the passage to efficient measures of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place.

Full approval was expressed of the two states' determination to actively contribute to the development of bi- and multilateral collaboration in the Balkans, to the consolidation of good neighbourliness, peace and security in the region.

Unanimously approving the documents and understandings covenanted by the two heads of state, the Executive Political Committee set measures for the attainment, in ever better conditions, of the collaboration objectives stipulated, for a more powerful development of the relations of friendship between Romania and Turkey.

RIBICIC DEPARTS FOR OFFICIAL VISIT TO CUBA

LD311135 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0810 GMT 31 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG) -- Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, left Belgrade today for Havana heading an LCY delegation on an official and friendly visit to the Republic of Cuba at the invitation of Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee.

The LCY delegation includes Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and Mihailo Popovic, member of the LCY Central Committee.

Mitja Ribicic was seen off at Belgrade airport by Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and other personalities. Also present at the sendoff was Jorge Castro Benitez [spelling as received] charge d'affaires at the Cuban embassy in the SFRY.

AIR TRANSPORT AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH CUBA

LD302326 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG) -- Today in Belgrade an agreement on the promotion of cooperation in air transport between Yugoslavia and Cuba was signed by Mustafa Nazmi, member of the Federal Executive Council and chairman of the Federal Committee for Transport and Communications; and Manuel Cespedes, first vice minister of transportation of Cuba. The signing ceremony was also attended by representatives of Yugoslav Aerotransport and of Ineks-Adria-Aviopromet.

RIBICIC VIEWS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC SITUATION

AU262052 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 May 83 p 2

[Zeljko Sepetavac report]

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 May -- "Had the foreign exchange which the Yugoslav exporters earned this year come more quickly into the country, it would be easier for us to overcome the present economic difficulties. Compared with the same period last year, exports to the convertible currency market increased by 20 percent but foreign exchange, for various reasons, remains in foreign banks. This is primarily happening because the value of foreign exchange in those banks is increasing compared with the dinar." This was said, among other things, by Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his speech to those attending the political school of the LC of Slovenia Central Committee in Ljubljana.

Mitja Ribicic spoke about certain very topical economic and political affairs in Yugoslavia and the world. First of all, he summed up the substance and emphasized the continuity of the past work of the LCY Central Committee and defined the meaning of the individual sessions of the LCY Central Committee. As regards the second session, he said that it was important primarily because of the methods of work which were then shaped in the Central Committee, when it was necessary to concretely agree on how to continue the collective work without prominent revolutionaries and leaders, such as Tito, Kardelj, and Bakaric. Mitja Ribicic said that the second session of the LCY Central Committee put Tito's initiative on collective work and responsibility, as well as on the 1-year term of office, on realistic ground.

According to Ribicic, this initiative of Tito's was, in many places in Yugoslavia, carried to the extreme, which Tito drew attention to during his last talk with a delegation from Slovenia in 1979. According to Ribicic, Comrade Tito then said that in implementing his initiative it was necessary to act in a more adaptable and flexible manner, that the Federal Executive Council and other executive councils should have longer terms of office and that it would be necessary, once the introduction of new terms of office was accomplished throughout Yugoslavia, to work out an analysis and to consider both the good and bad experiences.

There was no agreement in the LCY Central Committee on putting the contents of this talk in print and, according to Mitja Ribicic, the contents landed in the archives, while we still have no analysis which would assess the good and bad experiences.

Among the greatest weaknesses which have emerged after the introduction of the 1-year term of office, Mitja Ribicic mentioned the rotation of people in the individual posts in the republics and the federation, a fact which is demonstrated by the unchanged age structure of people in these posts. Due to a too-short term of office, irresponsibility and careerism have begun to assert themselves in some places, when individuals have tried to settle their personal, for instance, housing problems, and the like.

In this connection, the second session of the LCY Central Committee contributed to settling the situation in the LCY Central Committee and to strengthening mutual confidence, which according to Ribicic's assessment, was useful for the overall past work.

[The following uppercase passage appears in a box within the body of the report and is published in boldface]

WHEN HE BRIEFLY DESCRIBED THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA, MITJA RIBICIC STRESSED THAT THIS YEAR'S ECONOMIC GROWTH IS LOWER THAN IT WAS LAST YEAR, THAT THE STANDARD OF LIVING HAS FALLEN MORE THAN IS STATED IN THE RESOLUTION (INSTEAD OF 7.5 PERCENT IT FELL NEARLY 10 PERCENT, COMPARED TO LAST YEAR) AND THIS RESULTS IN SOCIAL CONFLICTS (BRIEF STRIKES) AND INCREASES UNEMPLOYMENT. ACCORDING TO HIM, IN THE COOPERATION WITH THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES, THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MUST, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE GO FROM A STRONGLY RESTRICTIVE ECONOMIC POLICY TO A MORE OFFENSIVE POLICY AND TO REVIVING THE ECONOMY. HE ALSO DREW ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT ALL FORMS OF CONSUMPTION HAVE EXCEEDED THE FRAMEWORKS OF THE RESOLUTION AND THAT STRONG PRESSURES HAVE BEGUN TO BE EXERTED ON THE FEDERAL BUDGET, PRIMARILY ON THE FUNDS FOR THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE'S ARMY, THE RIGHTS OF VETERANS, AND FOR PENSIONS.

In the present situation, undeveloped Kosovo represents a special problem. Mitja Ribicic said that it will be necessary to promote the development of this province even more. If Bosnia-Hercegovina, as the most developed for the underdeveloped republics, were to join the developed republics, then we could allocate more assistance to Kosovo's development.

Mitja Ribicic then spoke about the international situation, about the meeting of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi, and about the coming sixth UNCTAD session in Belgrade, where, according to him, for the first time in history a dialogue between the developed and the developing world should take place, and at which representatives of the developing and the nonaligned countries will make a demand for a gradual change in the present economic system.

RIBICIC ADDRESSES BELGRADE UNIVERSITY AKTIV

LD301759 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG) -- Socialist self-management must also prove itself when times are hard.

It is easy to prove oneself when everything is all right, when foreign credits are obtainable on good terms, when society can be expected to socialize internal debts and when one can expect to live well even if the results of one's work are poor, Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed during his visit to Belgrade University last week. On that occasion Ribicic took part in the work of the University LC Committee, visited the Faculty of Agriculture and the student city and spoke to the political aktiv of the university.

Today, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium went on, we must prove ourselves as an independent factor, we must build with our own resources and prove that our self-managing system is capable of reaching accord and organizing consultations, that social contracts and self-managing agreements can provide everything that is built in the capitalist world in accordance with the logic of profit at the price of neglecting a humane attitude toward the working man.

Our self-managing system must prove itself as an open system capable of integrating society. We have proved it as a system which promotes the initiative of an enormous number of subjects, of all the working people who make decisions on income, market, prices, and building. Now we must prove ourselves in the republics, in the provinces, in every environment, as a society capable of integrating itself on the basis of broader, joint programs.

I think that we have achieved certain results in the League of Communists with regard to the new spread of democratic centralism and collective responsibility of the League of Communists for the agreed policy, for our resolutions, for the 12th congress, for the conclusions of the third and fourth ideological and fifth and sixth economic sessions of the LCY Central Committee, Ribicic went on. When we started making the LC presidium and central and provincial committees of the republics and the provinces duty-bound to report to us on the implementation of the law on foreign exchange in their republics they were shocked: How dare anyone in the federation ask anyone else whether he is doing his work properly or poorly, how he is doing his work, what is his level of responsibility. We asked all these questions not in order to show that we are some kind of super party, but to ensure that what we as a federation have agreed to do is being done everywhere, at all levels, in all the republics and provinces. The results are not yet ideal, but a new degree of responsibility has been attained. It is much easier today to reach agreement on some issues at the federal level than it was yesterday and earlier on, when everybody barricaded himself and refused to yield.

The LC at the university represents the vanguard of the working class. Noting that the young generation shares the destiny of the working class, Mitja Ribicic stressed the role played by the university in the development of science and scienctific research. In this connection he spoke about the need to pay more attention to the results of work, the need to consider that only what is based on work is ethical. On our way to the rapid development of the country we are still dragging along with us quite a conservative system of remuneration, based to a considerable extent on artificial and formal criteria. Within our system of remuneration we must create the possibility for the rapid advance of all those scientific forces, of all those individuals who are capable of giving speedier and more expert replies to topical questions. They should be adequately rewarded, they should have incentives, and conditions should be created for their work.

Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also spoke to the Belgrade University about the work of the LCY Central Committee since the 12th congress, stressing that it has been necessary to develop a method of work in a situation when Tito and Bakaric were no longer around, people whose authority and arguments enabled them to synthesize and to give replies to topical questions.

We have given priority to economic problems, Ribicic went on. We devoted three sessions to these problems in the past year. We have also had two ideological questions. We have looked for the enemy left and right, only to see that we ourselves are the main "enemy" because we failed to see the causes of some phenomena and the answers to some questions. When the League of Communists is on the offensive then no enemy can cause much harm, but if we are on the defensive, the enemy will advance. We shall best draw attention to vigilance and security if we ensure creative work in all spheres, Mitja Ribicic stressed, announcing that the LCY Central Committee will hold sessions at which it will consider foreign political problems and the realization of the LCY Central Committee's platform on Kosovo, proceeding from the fact that relations with Vojvodina and Kosovo within the Socialist Republic of Serbia are a factor of great importance for the whole country.

Regarding Kosovo, Ribicic stressed on one hand we have the assessment that the political situation is quite good and on the other we think that something dangerous has begun to accumulate there, and not only in Kosovo, but also in Serbia, Yugoslavia. That is the new wave of national mistrust. The socialist forces and the League of Communists should immediately adopt special measures to change this situation.

When discussion about a small problem, Ribicic added, about whether a slaughterhouse or some other project, such as a school, should be built on a site begins to be based on whose land it will be built on, Serbian, Albanian, or Montenegrin, then this is very bad. If the problem is posed in the sense of whether it is necessary to build and, in particular, whether one should build on the land which at the moment is our main means of production, than I have nothing to say against it. But if people start saying "why here" and "why there" and if the whole thing becomes linked with emigration or other processes, then I think that this is no good at all.

The process of emigration of both Serbs and Montenegrins from that area continues, Mitja Ribicic went on. [sentence indistinct] I think that we should not only halt the process of emigration, but that we must reach agreement with the comrades in the province of Kosovo to begin a process of immigration of workers and specialists from the ranks of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, because if Kosovo wants to drag itself out of its backwardness, if it wants to make progress, it needs thousands of scientific workers and specialists from all over Yugoslavia, who, together with the working people of Kosovo, will assume responsibility for the efforts to ensure that real results are yielded by all those resources which the federation is pooling in Kosovo and for the training of people who will, as soon possible, take over responsibility for the further development of Kosovo.

Ribicic also stressed that national problems exist as a part of the socialist class struggle as a world process and that they cannot be denied. The present time raises the nationality question differently from the way it was posed at the time of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and of earlier revolutions. Today it is not posed only with regard to the prospect of state sovereignty, although, to give an example, the problem of the state sovereignty of the PLO does exist.

However, in Europe it is not posed as a problem of the right to organize one's own state -- let alone ethnically pure communities -- but as a problem of development, not only cultural, but economic, and social development and of other forms of progress.

A minority, Ribicic sent on to stress, must have complete equality, bilinguality must be established, and not the bilinguality of the minority, which in any case quite naturally learns the language of the majority, but the bilinguality of the majority, of the majority nation living in a nationally mixed area. This is a prospect for further development. This is why, in my view, the prospect for the Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo lies in their learning Albanian, and not only in Albanians learning Serbo-Croatian.

Referring in his speech to the Belgrade University political aktiv to the fact that the Kraigher Commission is completing its work, Mitja Ribicic stressed that the work of the commission will be followed by organized social action the objective of which is to put an end to restrictive measures. We think, he said, that the materials should be verified not only by the LCY Executive Central Committee but also by the SFRY Assembly and that the Federal Executive Council in particular should be empowered to make this program operational. We must guide all the forces of our society away from the discussion about stabilization and toward stabilization conduct and toward the establishment of conditions in which answers will be provided through our social practice.

The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium also pointed out the importance of the forthcoming UNCTAD session in Belgrade. This is a very important meeting not only because as many as 133 delegations to date have expressed their intention to attend and because over 30 heads of government or state are likely to attend, but because it will be the first world meeting of the most responsible heads of state and government who will seriously listen to the voice of the nonaligned countries -- the voice of New Delhi -- concerning the need to change the international economic, monetary, and trade system, Ribicic said.

The world economic crisis is of such a nature that it has already begun to impact on the conscience of the developed countries. They too want to change things; the kind of opposition to the changes in the international economic system which has existed up to the eighties no longer exists. Because of their own balance sheets, of unemployment in their countries, and because of the recession, which is now in its third year, the developed world, too, is now ready to discuss these problems. This is why the economic resolution of the Seventh Nonaligned Summit was received very well and there is a chance that UNCTAD may become the first North-South dialogue in the quest for the directions for a joint solution, Ribicic said, stressing that as the host Yugoslavia and its delegation at UNCTAD will have a great role to play.

LJUBLJANA DELO FINDS TITO STATUE 'KITSCHY'

AU310707 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 May 83 p 4

[Mitja Mersol commentary: "Kitschy Stage Set"]

[Text] In watching the main celebrations of youth day at the Yugoslav People's Army Stadium in Belgrade, one's feelings of pride and joy scintillated. The freshness of the youth, the easy elegance in the performance of various figures, the elan, and the power of the young people indicated that all this is a guarantee for the future.

However, when the television camera turned toward the stands of the stadium, a colossal statue representing Tito was seen above the heads of the tens of thousands of people.

The statue was modeled on the monument in the Partisan Square in Titovo Uzice. The statute of Tito is surrounded by a representation of Yugoslavia, with mountains, rivers, plains, and the Adriatic. Such symbolism has a different effect in different places: It undoubtedly has a positive effect in Titovo Uzice, but at the main celebration at the Yugoslav People's Army Stadium it had, to put it mildly, a tasteless and kitschy effect. The tall, stiff silhouette rising toward the sky dominated the youthful bustle; if it only lifted its finger, it would beat all the statues in those parts of the world where leaders were idolatrously honored and where the cult of these leaders is still cultivated. In our hearts and memories, however, Tito remains always and above all a man, great in his ideas and deeds.

I think that one should speak in public about such stage sets, which our reality does not need and which therefore harm our prestige and, above all, the memory of Comrade Tito. It is not the first and only case. I believe that we are also not critical enough when it is a matter of erecting various monuments of the revolution, which sometimes are on the brink of three-a-penny kitsch and sometimes below that, but hardly anybody dares to speak publicly about it, because everybody justly fears the reproach: "Look, he is slinging mud at our revolution!" We are insufficiently critical and vociferous also on these occasions when various peddlers go from school to school selling photographs of Tito to children: and the student who cannot buy such a picture is dealt the well-known blow. "So you will not buy Tito's picture?"

PLANINC VISITS BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA 3 MAY

Meets Officials

LD301957 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] Sarajevo, 30 May (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, accompanied by Dimitrije Tasic, member of the Federal Executive Council, paid a working visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina today.

Within the framework of her visit to Sarajevo, Milka Planinic had talks with Milanko Renovica, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and with Hamdija Pozderac, president of the League of Communists Central Committee.

During her meeting with Seid Maglajlija, president of the Executive Council, and his associates, they talked about current economic trends, about business trends and about measures and activities taken with the aim of making production more dynamic, of achieving more favorable results in foreign trade, about normalizing consumption and improving foreign exchange and the dinar liquidity of organizations of associated labor and banks, and in particular, about the tasks of the Federal Executive Council and of executive councils of socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces in implementing the agreed economic stabilization program.

They also referred to activities aimed at finding and speeding up the adoption of solutions to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in Bosanka Krajina in 1981, and in this context they stressed the need to speed up the adoption of solutions to ensure resources of solidarity for these purposes. In addition, they also referred to some issues regarding preparations for the 14th Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo.

Milka Planinc also visited the organizational committee of the 14th Winter Olympic Games where Branko Mikulic, chairman of the organizational committee informed her about the preparations for this event. After this she toured the olympic installations and site.

In the afternoon, Milka Planinc will visit the Energoinvest, composite organization of associated labor, and talk about the implementation of planned tasks of this collective, particularly with regard to exports.

Inspects Olympic Games Site

AU301707 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, visited Sarajevo today and had talks with the Winter Olympic Games Organization Committee on preparations for the great event. Report by [words indistinct]:

(?Milka Planinc was welcomed by) Branko Mikulic, president of the organizational committee, who acquainted her with the course of the organization so far and the remaining work to be done before the games begin. The president of the Federal Executive Council and her aides then visited the information center of the 14th Winter Olympic Games, where she inspected an exhibition and saw the film "Sarajevo Is Building." Comrade Planinc showed great interest in investing the future Olympic arenas [words indistinct] and then made the following statement at our request:

[Begin Planinc recording] I have heard much about the Olympic Games and the preparations. I have been kept informed and have noticed the great courage connected with a great risk, I must say, by all those experts as well as the leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Sarajevo who decided on such a truly great undertaking. It was risky. Now when one can see this coming to an end, there is nothing to it, you have to congratulate them. They have constructed projects which mean much not merely for Sarajevo, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Yugoslavia: It is quite certain that this will be an attractive place for many in the world. As regards Sarajevo, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Yugoslavia, I think that projects have been constructed which give a basis for a different (?development) of all this region in the decades to come. There is nothing to it, you have to congratulate them, for it has now reached a stage when congratulations are in order. It is quite certain that the Olympic Games will be a success and that the remaining problems will be resolved. [end recording]

Concludes Visit

LD302333 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 30 May 83

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 30 May (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, ended her 1-day working visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina tonight with talks in the Sarajevo Energoinvest. The representatives of this enterprise briefed Milka Planinc on the development plans and export results. This year, Energoinvest will place goods to the value of about $600 million on the foreign market. In comparison with last year, exports to the convertible area this year should increase by as much as 46 percent.

DOLANC VISITS CROATIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

LD302225 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] Zagreb, 30 May (TANJUG) -- Milutin Baltic, president of the Presidency of the Croatian Socialist Republic, today received Stane Dolanc, federal secretary for internal affairs, who arrived on a 2-day visit to the Croatian Socialist Republic within the scope of his routine visits to the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces.

On his first day in Zagreb Dolanc had talks with the top Croatian leaders. As announced, it was noted on that occasion that the security-political situation in the republic is very good and that as a result of hard work by all self-management socialist forces -- associated labor, working people and citizens, and appropriate organs and sociopolitical organizations -- all the difficulties stemming from our economic situation -- which, as is known both in the Croatian Socialist Republic and throughout our country, is very complex -- are being successfully overcome. Talks highly appraised the functioning of social self-protection as a broad, social, and well-run system for preventing and neutralizing all attempts by little groups and individuals of an anti-self-management frame of mind.

During the talks with the federal secretary of internal affairs -- in which Josip Vrhovec, president of the Presidium of the Croatian League of Communists; Ante Markovic, president of the Croatian Executive Council; Pavle Gazi, republican secretary of internal affairs; Dr Tode Curuvija, member of the Presidency of the Croatian Socialist Republic; and Zdravko Mustac, deputy republican secretary for internal affairs, also took part -- attention focused on further promoting the work of the security services and on developing and consolidating their cooperation both with the federal organs and with the sections of this service and other sociopolitical organs in the republic. It was stressed in this context that special attention must be paid to transportation security and to other aspects of security during the tourist season when traffic in the Croatian Socialist Republic and throughout the country increases several-fold because of the influx of a great number of foreign tourists.

GRLICKOV ON CAMPAIGN AGAINST NATIONALISM

LD281650 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 28 May 83

[Excerpts] Delcevo, 28 May (TANJUG) -- A large people's meeting was held today at Delcevo within the framework of the celebration of "Goce's Days," the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising and the 80th anniversary of Goce Delcev's death, a giant of the national liberation struggle of the Macedonian people.

Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, spoke in front of Goce Delcev's memorial on the historic significance of the Ilinden uprising and on the revolutionary personality and work of this distinguished Macedonian revolutionary.

Aleksandar Grlickov said that the Ilinden uprising of 1903 was the expression of the Macedonian people's aspiration to achieve its national liberation and to create its own state.

Aleksandar Grlickov then spoke about our country's international activity. He said that the struggle for peace, for active peaceful coexistence, and for equal cooperation with all countries and peoples in the world represents Yugoslavia's permanent commitment. In this context, he emphasized that Yugoslavia, proceeding from this constructive and principled policy, strives and will continue to strive for goodneighborly relations and cooperation with its neighbors on the basis of consistent and strict observation of the principles of independence, equality, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal affairs.

We strive for the creation of permanent conditions for developed and stable goodneighborly relations and cooperation with all neighbors on the basis of the said principles, which also means recognition and respect for the rights of some of the Macedonian people and other Yugoslav peoples who live in neighboring countries as national minorities.

In our opinion, Grlickov pointed out, the national minorities -- including the Macedonian ones -- in the neighboring countries should increasingly become a real factor of rapprochement between peoples and not of their division. After all, this policy also emanates from the principles of the United Nations universal declaration of human rights and of the Helsinki final document. This is also the meaning of our opposition to any attempt to curtail the rights of the national minorities and to any attempt at discrimination and assimilation. We wish to assure everybody, and, above all, our neighbors, that Yugoslavia does not represent a threat to them. Our border is a border of peace and cooperation. After all, the Yugoslav policy is based on national tolerance, goodneighborliness, and full equality of nations and nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the SFRY and we justly expect our neighbors to show understanding for our stance on national minorities which does not represent a threat to their sovereignty, independence, and national and political integrity.

This is why we are making enormous efforts to develop overall cooperation with our neighbors and thus to find ways of solving these questions by means of mutual dialogue and understanding. This is, after all, also in the interest of all peoples in the Balkans. Experience shows, Grlickov emphasized, that the question of national minorities can only be solved by means of further developing mutual relations and cooperation, by means of further strengthening mutual confidence, by better acquaintance and goodneighborly relations, including also the creation of an atmosphere in which this open question will gradually be overcome and solved.

As far as we are concerned, Grlickov emphasized, Yugoslavia is seriously striving to ensure that young new generations will be free from all remnants of past nationalism and will not be allowed to fall into nationalist waters. The nationalist ideology is conservative and as such does not serve progress or relations between countries of the world. This especially applies to the progressive forces in the Balkans. They are now facing a historic test: Will they finally, in the historic and concrete sense, stop the Balkans from being a powder keg and through dialogue and mutual understanding build their common life, with huge possibilities and with cooperation, which ultimately represent the permament interest of the peoples in this region? We have no other alternative.

Aleksandar Grlickov then spoke about the domestic situation, emphasizing that we are faced with exceptional economic difficulties, including those which are sociopolitically, ideologically, and morally-psychologically important. In this context, he said that deep and consistent research is being carried out to uncover more openly and critically the long-term causes and consequences of the present situation. In this, he emphasized, critical, clear, and open discussion about our truths, even though they may be unpleasant for us, will guarantee that the present situation will be changed because suppressing the truth reflects a state of helplessness and demobilization.

Speaking about stabilization, Grlickov said that current experience shows that we cannot radically change the existing social and economic trends and tendencies by a variety of small steps and short-term measures and modifications. Radical actions are necessary and they must be thoroughly prepared and elaborated.

We have an immediate chance, Aleksandar Grlickov said in conclusion, and we are therefore striving to speed up the preparations and to open concrete prospects for all questions, so that we will no longer talk about what should be done but about how and in which way can we achieve concrete changes, and especially how to get out of the present difficulties.

STOJCEVSKI NEW TRADE UNION COUNCIL PRESIDENT

AU271932 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 83 p 10

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May -- At its session today, the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation elected Stojan Stojcevski president of the Council for 1 year. Stojcevski is a member of the Council Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation and of the Macedonian Trade Union Federation Council.

CKREBIC REELECTED PRESIDENT OF SERBIAN LC

LD302331 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] By secret vote, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia today reelected Dusan Ckrebic as president of the Central Committee with a 1-year mandate. Ilijaz Kurtesi and Slavko Veselinov, presidents of the Provincial Committees of the League of Communists of Kosovo and Vojvodina respectively, who are ex-officio members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, have been elected to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia then discussed current ideo-political questions of the reform of teaching in high schools and schools of higher education.

CKREBIC SPEAKS AT LC CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

AU301601 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 May 83

[Text] The festive first part of the session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia today was devoted to the commemoration of Karl Marx's death centennial. Dusan Ckrebic spoke about the significance of Marx's work. Marx's teaching, Ckrebic said, is not just a collection of good works. Its vitality and topicality have been convincingly demonstrated by the practice of our socialist construction. For us, Marxism remains a permament source of inspiration.

In the present time, we must develop a society of socialist self-management on the basis of the achievements of the revolution, opposing the forces of all kinds of historical reaction. We certainly need a vision of the future, but at the same time we need specific means which will make it possible to realize this vision.

Ckrebic devoted part of his speech to the role of the state in socialist society. He recalled that Marx never believed that the revolution would be realized primarily by means of the state. The idea that the state might wither away by being strengthened was completely alien to Marx. In essence, Ckrebic stressed, the idea of statist socialism was completely alien to Marx.

[Begin Ckrebic recording] The practice of self-management has opened up historic opportunities for overcoming the role of the state as the chief regulative force of society primarily by disowning the state in the field of material reproduction and control over surplus value. However, this process has now been slowed down because of the effect of several causes.

If control over surplus value is slipping out of the worker's hands, republican, provincial, and federal centralism are equally unacceptable to him.

The matter lies in the federation, the republics, and the provinces adjusting their position and role to the Constitution in real life, instead of everybody defending his own isoloation and self-sufficiency by invoking the principles of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] whose essence in fact is opposed to any isolation and self-sufficiency. In the opposite case, we would practically narrow down the possibility of improving and harmonizing our mutual relations and of further developing and improving Yugoslav federalism.

Of course, nobody has the right to negate the existence and the functions of the republics and the provinces on the principles of mutual equality, on which our federation is based; however, one should likewise bear in mind that they are parts of a unified whole without which we could not exist in the present world circumstances. [end recording]

A constellation of Yugoslav and Serbian Marxist theoreticians and revolutionaries, Ckrebic recalled, worked in bringing Marx's theory to life. Therefore, the LCY and the LC of Serbia are with justice considered heirs and continuers of the great ideas of Marxism without the development of socialism is unthinkable, Dusan Ckrebic pointed out at a festive session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia devoted to the centennary of Marx's death.

KOSOVO'S DJUKIC VIEWS ECONOMY, IMMIGRATION

LD272115 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 27 May 83

[Text] Pristina, 27 May 83 (TANJUG) -- Ilija Djukic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, talked today with the correspondents who cover the work of the Assembly and its bodies. During the conversation, in which Bajram Selimi, vice-president of the assembly, the presidents of the Assembly chambers and bodies, and representatives of the Provincial Committee for Information also took part, three areas of activity were indicated as the basic tasks of the Kosovo Assembly and its bodies: adherence to the Constitution and the law at all provincial levels, striving to achieve economic stabilization, and taking measures and action aimed at halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

The Kosovo Assembly, Djukic said, must be even more consistent in its attention to respect for legal and other regulations and their application or violation, which assumes particular importance in view of the situation in Kosovo.

The economic situation in the province also demands exceptional efforts on the part of the assembly organs and bodies, and of all other subjects as well; all the more so as the first encouraging results achieved at the beginning of the year have evaporated in recent times: production over the first 4 months was only 0.7 percent higher than in the same period last year. In other words, in the last 4 months, industrial production in Kosovo was 7 percent lower than anticipated. If we add to this the fact that shortfalls are being recorded in exports, that distribution is worsening, that personal income is increasing somewhat more than income, and that the problem of unemployment is becoming more acute, it is clear that the overall economic situation in the province is not at all rosy.

Speaking about the emigration of Serba and Montenegrins, Ilija Djukic emphasized that much has been achieved in overall sociopolitical activity in settling conditions in the province, but that emigration has remained the most acute sociopolitical problem and in some environments such as Pristina and Titova Mitrovica it has not been greatly alleviated.

Djukic said that the problem of emigration must be studied more seriously and added that new measures are being prepared which should contribute to its cessation.

At the same time, measures are being taken in all municipalities to facilitate the acceptance of all those who wish to return. In today's discussion it was stated that in the 6 month period from September of last year to March of this year a total of 105 persons of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality returned to Kosovo. These include 8 families comprising 27 members; the remaining 78 are individuals.

This figure, according to Djukic, is not remarkable, but it is very important, particularly as there are ever increasing requests to return. The president of the Kosovo Assembly reviewed all the economic and social difficulties and the impossibility of meeting every request to return. He also pointed out the phenomena of various forms of blackmailing and profiteering in the case of some of these people, but he again emphasized the increasing readiness to accommodate every intention to return to the province.

ZAGREB WEEKLY DANAS CHIEF EDITOR REPLACED

AU291529 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 83 p 4

[Text] Zagreb, 16 May (TANJUG) -- The workers council of the VJESNIK basic organization of associated labor has accepted the resignation of Joze Vlahovic as chief and responsible editor of the weekly DANAS. As reported in the latest issue of the informative political weekly DANAS, the LC basic organization and a meeting of the working people of the weekly DANAS within the VJESNIK basic organization of associated labor had discussed Joze Vlahovic's resignation and its causes beforehand.

The workers council of the VJESNIK basic organization of associated labor at the same session, held on 11 May this year, appointed Zivko Milic, DANAS editor and commentator, acting chief and responsible editor, until the process of selecting a person for this post and these tasks is completed.

NIN ARTICLE VIEWS PROBLEMS OF FEDERAL PRESS

AU281427 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1690, 22 May 83 pp 10-12

[Zoran Erak article: "The Federal Press: Newspapers Belonging to Everyone and to No one"]

[Excerpts] Following the recent proposal by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Trade Unions that RAD, the federal trade union organ, be restyled on the model of KOMUNIST, the LCY organ, in having republican and provincial editorial offices and separate editions, and following certain earlier deliberations that the editorial offices of the so-called federal organs be created according to the republican-provincial formula (except for the director and the chief and responsible editor, recently, editors of columns of the federal youth newspaper MLADOST have also been elected according to this principle), it has become clear that in various transformations of the federal organs, in accordance with the new role of the federation, its organs must also come under the reorganizational scalpel....

All the "wisdom" is in the fact that the federal (or common, whatever people may call them) organs should be "true conveyors" of the positions of the republics and provinces on the most diverse topics of our social or political daily life; they must, therefore, convey the positions which are mutually and completely exclusive, but they must also "make efforts to find what is common in these positions...."

Further, it is necessary that they develop the awareness of our togetherness, that they "synthesize" diversities and so forth.

It has already been said that the concept of KOMUNIST was taken as a model which should be copied. For this reason we begin the story about KOMUNIST with the statement that KOMUNIST really does not exist as a unified newspaper: KOMUNIST has nine different editions (there is no "federal" edition) and each of them is, in addition to being an "LCY organ," also an "organ of the Central Committee" of one of the republics or provinces. In practice, the prescription looks like this: Of the total 24 pages in this weekly, 16 pages are devoted to "joint articles" while 8 pages are intended exclusively to reflect the will of the editorial office of each individual edition. The "central" editorial office has no chance of influencing the contents of "separate" pages....

The director and chief and responsible editor of all KOMUNIST editions is a specific post not only in our journalism. He has almost no rights over "all editions" but only over the common articles -- and not even completely over these! The responsible editor in the republic or province has the right, at his discretion, or according to some other and not just, professional accords, not to publish one of the "common" articles or to publish another article which is by its contents and viewpoint completely different from the "central article.." Therefore, he can polemize.... In addition to polemics among the KOMUNIST editions, it may happen that a published article is assessed in an editorial office as exceptional while in another the political responsibility of the author and editor is questioned! Or, an editorial office may publish the common article but, "because of professional or ideopolitical confusion," it will significantly correct and supplement it, while all other editorial offices will publish it without intervention, regardless of the fact that it may be "confusing."

The prevailing conviction among the public is that KOMUNIST's circulation (all editions -- 550,000 copies), which is the largest in Yugoslavia, by far does not express how widely it is really read. The views about this weekly, not only in professional circles, are very different but they have this in common -- something must be done so that KOMUNIST improves and becomes more widely read, primarily in the interest of the LC. Some of the latest polls have provided figures for serious thinking. Among the people polled on how widely the weekly is read, in answer to the question of "which articles have provoked the greatest interest," as many as 44 percent "could not remember the title," while the other 32 percent sincerely admitted that "they had not read the weekly" during the period the poll was taken.

Forcing of "Mechanical Equality"

The only federal informational-political daily, BORBA, organ of the SAWPY, ranks with its present circulation of 40,000 (on average), somewhere in the middle on the list of our dailies, and it would be almost inappropriate to compare the present BORBA circulation with that of the late forties, when it reached 700,000.

A formula of the republican and provincial editorial offices has been established in BORBA as an attempt at a "cure," and their contributions in one of the two editions (in Cyrillic in Belgrade and in Latin in Zagreb) frequently have the strength of "obligatory publication," particularly when the "positions" of local [maticni] circles are involved. Consistently respecting the principle of "originality," mutually exclusive positions appear in the same newspaper, while it is not easy to reach a "synthesis," and this is not only a specialty of BORBA or other similar organs but of many other nonjournalistic institutions. There is an unwritten law in BORBA which, however, no one will admit as "his" -- to ensure an evenhandedness in the number of published reports from all our circles, sometimes even to the point of not respecting the basic professional criteria of the "importance" of the report.

We have exaggerated in forcing a "mechanical equality," in insisting on the equal representation of all. As long as "our" and "their" lines and reports are counted by certain people, there will be nothing coming from this newspaper and other similar newspapers, says Bozo Kovac, director of BORBA.

Zdravko Colic, chief editor, gives us figures which demonstrate the difficult material position of this newspaper: Only 19 percent of income is created by sales (the remainder is in the form of subsidies by the founder and the BORBA Newspaper Publishing and Printing Work Organization). Even the SAWP organization does not care much for its federal organ: Out of over 500 communal "front" organizations, only some 100 of them subscribe to BORBA! "Economic stabilization" is also increasingly affecting this, the basic manner of selling the newspaper....

In order to do something and to improve the difficult material position, a self-managing agreement on financing the BORBA functions is being prepared with the "full political agreement of all interested parties."

With a full measure of foreboding, Bozo Kovac mentions that only a "small thing" remains: "Who will pay for all this?"

Agreed Concept

The newspaper RAD has no financial problems for the time being. We were told this by Stasa Marinkovic, acting director and chief and responsible editor.

The agreed concept of TANJUG, the sole Yugoslav news agency is, nonetheless, being implemented without great difficulties. We say nonetheless because despite the specific TANJUG information function, which is its main task, certain difficulties arise in making those famous "syntheses."

Along with full respect for the principle of originality, the TANJUG general service transmits everything that is sent by the republican and provincial editorial offices (and one of them is a "republican agency which provides the complete and final selection of reports" from its territory), particularly that which the local circle especially wants to "reach others." Any possible different positions on the same issues are transmitted such as they are, and this gives users the opportunity to utilize them according to their ideas and criteria. If there is no agreement on reaching a "synthesis," it is agreed that this should not be done.

Mihajlo Saranovic, chief editor, has told us that, irrespective of the existence of nine editorial offices and sometimes different positions, the TANJUG editorial policy is uniform. In practice, this involves unified, coordinated professional criteria on "following" events, and there are no great difficulties in respecting these criteria.

Along with various precedents and respect for the efforts to reach some better solutions, the federal organs have much in common. Some of this has been said, but the following remains to be said: The circulation figures (except for KOMUNIST) are very modest, newsstand sales are negligible; the top reporters (with the honorable exception of those who have remained) flee from such organs and rarely even cooperate with them: It is a very rare case when somebody returns; all organs enjoy political support and yet they suffer from financial difficulties.

In conclusion, to repeat: Sometimes a too-stubborn insistence on partial interests and the encapsulation in one's own frameworks cannot but lead to peculiar absurdities in the organs, particularly the federal ones.

One of these absurdities is perhaps also the fact that the newspaper with the greatest circulation and highest status (KOMUNIST) does not have the greatest influence, while the daily (BORBA) which has a modest circulation, it is claimed, has great influence, particularly abroad....

Phenomena, at least when they explain the notion of "influence," are an interesting subject for research.

PAPERS REVIEW AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS, PROGRESS

Banat Region Plantings

WA310900 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 83 p 7

[Text] Vrsac, 18 May -- Thanks to ample rainfall in the southern Banat region at the end of April and beginning of May, plantings look fine and are withstanding drought and high temperatures. Corn has been planted over 113,000 hectares, wheat over 65,000 hectares, soybeans over 25,000 hectares, and sugar beets over approximately 13,000 hectares. Good yields are anticipated if rain falls here in the next 10 days.

Moisture has already "evaporated" from the grain fields, so the wheat is "thirsty." The last rain fell 10 days ago; without it, the wheat would have been in a critical state by now. For the moment, the wheat is still withstanding the dangerous drought.

The rain that the meteorologists have been predicting has not yet fallen. If it were to fall, it would be just the right moment to moisten the kernels.

The drought is affecting other crops planted this spring as well: sugar beets, sunflowers, and soybeans. If this weather continues, many plots of land will have to be replanted.

According to Slobodan Belic, consultant for cooperative arrangements at the regional chamber of commerce, the sugar-beet weevil has forced local farmers to replant approximately 2,000 hectares. Apart from the doubling of expenses for planting operations and raw materials, the real harm is that the farmers have decided to plant approximately 1,000 hectares of corn instead of replanting the entire afflicted area with sugar beets, so the two southern Banat sugar refineries at Kovin and Kovacica will once again have problems with raw materials this autumn.

Novi Sad Harvest

WA310935 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 83 p 1

[Text] Novi Sad, 18 May -- This year's harvest on 2.1 million hectares of grain fields, including 1.6 million hectares of wheat fields, is beginning considerably earlier than in previous years, according to the deputy chairman of the Federal Committee on Agriculture, Branko Jovanovic, speaking at a committee session today in Novi Sad.

"In this year's wheat harvest," says Assistant Committee Chairman Sava Veselinov, "20,420 combines will be participating, and they ought to have this (big job) done in the social sector in 10 days. If we finish the harvest by that time, then every kernel of wheat will be gathered. Already now we are appealing to the social sector to be ready to assist private farmers after the conclusion of the harvest in the social sector."

We are beginning to hear of problems with obtaining spare parts and of a lack of tires, consequences of a shortage of foreign exchange imports. According to what was said at the meeting today, $20 million is needed -- and half of that figure is lacking -- for spare parts so that combines will not breakdown during the harvest. The Federal Executive Council is accordingly scheduled to take up the problem of providing foreign exchange for spare parts at its next meeting.

As was heard in the discussion, the most severe situation with respect to organizing the harvest is in Kosovo Province, where there are approximately 9,000 combines but only 400 in the social sector -- and the latter are in rather poor condition.

The Federal Committee on Agriculture also considered today a report on spring planting in the country over 4.2 million hectares. Of this total, 2.8 million hectares were to be planted with basic field crops, industrial crops, rice, and corn; approximately 350,000 hectares with spring grains; 550,000 hectares with vegetables; and 570,000 hectares with fodder plants. As Veselinov pointed out, plantings are still in progress and are expected to be completed on all planned plots of land.

Otherwise, the supply of crop protection substances is improving. Half of the planned total of 61,862 tons has been delivered.

Meteorological Conditions

WA311005 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 83 p 1

[Text] Exceptionally high temperatures for this time of year are combining with strong winds to dry up the soil at an accelerated pace. In many farming areas, the beneficial effects of the ample rainfall of 10 days ago have almost completely vanished. At this point, therefore, the crops need rain more than ever before. Unfortunately, to judge by the long-term weather forecast, there will most probably be no rain before the end of the month.

Milos Spasic, who is in charge of long-term forecasting at the Federal Hydrometeorological Bureau's center, states that there will be no substantial precipitation over the next 10 days. Only in some places, in the afternoon hours, and mainly in hilly regions, can local showers be expected. Temperatures are not likely to fall perceptibly, nor will there be substantial precipitation until after 1 June.

Nonetheless, specialists at the Crop Institute in Novi Sad assert that wheat is still withstanding this weather well. In other words, at the moment there is no danger to the wheat crop in the country as a whole, primarily because 80 percent of the grain-growing surface of the country is planted with Novi Sad early strains, which are resistant to such climatic conditions.

FUNDS SHORTAGE PREVENTS OIL DRILLING AT SEA

AU261922 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 83 p 5

[Dusan Tesic report]

[Summary] The story about a lake of oil under the Adriatic has begun after the visit by Belgrade and Zagreb journalists to the Zagreb I platform which is drilling some 15 miles southwest of Dugi Otok. Experts say that oil was found at a depth of between 4,507 and 4,517 meters.

The rock extracted from this depth is now being analyzed in the laboratories on the platform. Engineer Bozidar Bencic, a director of the INA-Naftaplin work organization, has confirmed that it is possible to speak about an oil deposit on the basis of three important facts: the geologic composition of the rock; its temperature, which is about 80 degrees c; and the impenetrability of the upper layers which made the formation of oil possible. All this guarantees that an oil deposit has been found, but complex laboratory analyses are necessary to confirm all this.

According to Eng Bencic, the exploitation of this deposit would be economical if at least 200 tons of oil could be produced daily. However even if it is established that the exploitation would pay off, it will be at least 4-6 years before oil can be exploited here. What is involved is not only time but the shortage of money for the purchase of expensive equipment. According to Bencic, this work organization has already prepared five programs for exploiting oil and natural gas in Podravina and Slavonija which must be realized in the coming 4-5 years. All these programs are urgent tasks for which money must be found. These deposits on land are attractive for our conditions, while the oil exploitation at sea costs about ten times as much as on land. For this reason the INA-Naftaplin work organization currently is not thinking in terms of exploiting oil from the borehole near Dugi Otok, but from the land boreholes. To begin production in the already discovered fields, it is necessary to ensure at least $180 million because most of the equipment is still imported.

Directors of the INA-Naftaplin work organization expect that by the end of this century these fields will produce 40 million tons of oil. To realize these programs, it will be necessary to invest over 560 billion dinars.

Thus, there is not much hope of finding funds to begin exploiting oil at sea when funds for other programs on land are short of funds. Only Croatia and Vojvodina and a number of foreign companies are interested in oil and natural gas prospecting in Yugoslavia. No other republic or province has shown any interest in joint ventures for this purpose.